The Nation.

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The Week.

As we go to press, peace seems to be assured by Spain's acceptance of our conditions as roughly outlined on another page. The cessation of hostilities must give joy to every rational being except political soldiers and pension agents.

The terms of Gen. Miles's proclamation to the Porto Ricans were quite unnecessarily and disgustingly hypocritical. It would have been much better to begin by telling the inhabitants of Porto Rico the truth. Or, if our real intentions had to be disguised, we might simply have said that we were at war with Spain and had come to fight her army wherever we could find it. But to talk about delivering a people "oppressed for centuries," about bearing "the banners of freedom," etc., is enough to turn the stomach of an ostrich. Gen. Miles says he is seeking to destroy "the enemies of our government and yours." What is the government of Porto Rico? It is an autonomous government, granted the island at the demand of the United States! Who its enemies are, therefore, unless they be Gen. Miles and his army, it would puzzle the Porto Ricans to say. Nobody, of course, is deceived by these false pretences. All the world knows that we drive the Spanish out of Porto Rico because we do not think it safe to leave them there after Cuba is independent; also, because our military authorities have decided that we need the island for strategic reasons; also, because, as Senator Hanna has said, it is a "very desirable possession." No doubt the Porto Ricans are perfectly willing we should take them. No doubt they will be more prosperous under our rule. But all the hypocrisy might well have been omitted.

Public interest is no longer centred on the movements of our forces in the West Indies. It is the situation in the Philippine Islands that is now everywhere discussed. The recent dispatches from that quarter of the globe make it plain that, no matter what the terms of peace with Spain may be, the insurgents must be reckoned with before these islands can have settled government. We have taken the wolf by the ears, and the problem is how to let go. Our information is, indeed, very imperfect. It is reported that Admiral Dewey has said that it would take an army of 150,000 men to establish the authority of our Government over these islands, and that Gen. Merritt will want 50,000 men at once in order to make a good beginning. Were our Government merely to step into the shoes of that of Madrid, and allow these people to continue to govern themselves or to be governed by the religious orders, the problem would be sufficiently serious. But our Government could not maintain this position. It would have to send its own administrative officers and displace the Spanish clergy. This policy might not be acceptable even in this country. It would be odious to the Pope, and would probably be resisted by the religious orders with that elusive and elastic opposition which has heretofore worn out so many persecutors. Nor can we assume that this policy would be acceptable to the natives themselves. We should tell them that they would be much better off under our rule; that the English language would supersede that of Spain, the American religion that of Rome, and that district schools would be everywhere established from which religious instruction would be carefully excluded. We can see how much better off they would be with all these things, but they are unfortunately not so enlightened as to see with our eyes. Judging from the unvarying lessons of history, they would rebel against the introduction of a new civilization. That means that we should have to slaughter a great many of them, and that the survivors would have so little liking for this civilizing process that they would hate us and be ready to kill us whenever they had a chance.

Senator Hoar's views on public questions are frequently interesting, because he gives such excellent reasons for voting otherwise than he does. In his remarks at Marblehead on Friday, he "pointed with pride" to the fact that he always voted as Senator Lodge did, although he has been conspicuous in his opposition to many measures favored by Lodge. On the matter of the war, Senator Hoar rather surpassed himself in inconsistency. He declared that the war might have been avoided if it had not been for the speeches of our Congressmen. We could have established friendly relations with Spain, spared her honor, and effected the peaceful deliverance of Cuba. It might seem to follow from this, as Prof. Norton is reported to have reasoned, that to go to war when our ends could have been peacefully attained, was wicked. Not at all, says Senator Hoar. This fact does not affect the moral quality of our action. This war "is none the less a holy, just, or honorable war" because we could have averted it. There seems to be something casuistical in this morality, not to say Jesuitical, but Mr. Hoar had got himself into a tight place, and he had to get out as best he could.

On the question of subjugating other peoples, Senator Hoar carped away in most un-American style. His utterances were pessimistic to a degree sufficient to make Prof. Norton's seem radiant with hopefulness. Instead of maintaining that the American people was great enough and good enough to do anything it chose, Mr. Hoar declared that it would be a sad thing for this country and for mankind if we were to abandon our fundamental doctrine. He said that we should probably fail in a colonial policy, just as Spain has failed. If we undertake to govern backward peoples, the American spirit will not enter into and possess them, but their spirit will enter into and possess us. We must say that such doubts as these appear to be reasonable; but why should Senator Hoar denounce other people with such violence for suggesting them? Is it because such people do not cease to support their principles, in spite of party claims, while Senator Hoar's convictions are subordinate to the requirement of voting straight?

While we are gasping our complaints of sultry weather, and doubting if life is worth living under such conditions, we may do well to think of the sufferings of the firemen, and, indeed, of all hands, on our war-ships. A correspondent of the *Tribune* gives some frightful particulars of the heat which prevails in the fire-rooms of some of these vessels. On the *Amphitrite* a temperature of 120 degrees Fahrenheit in the engine-room is reported, and 148 degrees in the fire-room. The *Terror* reports 140 degrees in the engine-room and 155 in the fire-room, while in the case of the *Cincinnati* a temperature of 205 degrees is said to have been registered, or only 7 degrees less than the boiling point of water. Even on the battle-ships, where there is more space between decks and less heat, relatively, from the furnaces, the "cooling" air pumped into the fire-rooms is frequently of a temperature of 100 degrees. It is difficult to believe that human beings can exist at all under such conditions, and if our navy is to be employed in the tropics, it will evidently be necessary to improve things. We cannot expect to obtain men of a superior class to doom themselves to perpetual torment as firemen, and yet the service of the engines is as important as that of the guns. It is gratifying to see that our commanders generously recognize the energy and fidelity with which the firemen and engineers, although deprived of the *gaudium certaminis* which stimulated the gunners, devoted themselves to their work. Their position, judging from the casualties on the Spanish vessels, is hardly less dangerous

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than that of the men working the guns, and their task is infinitely less inspiring. They certainly deserve a liberal share in the glory of the victory, and should not be forgotten when we are praising the valor of the more conspicuous combatants. The best recognition of their merits would be to afford them relief from the frightful heat to which they are now exposed by making peace as soon as possible.

The tranquillity with which the danger of pestilence is borne by our people is a manifestation of patriotism which must gratify everybody. It is hard to believe that a few years ago this community was wild with terror at the approach of a vessel on which cases of cholera had appeared, when we see the ready welcome given to invalid soldiers from Cuba who are certainly much more likely to bring infection than were the passengers of the *Normannia*. Those unfortunate persons were formerly driven into the sea by a mob of furious Long Islanders, although there was not the slightest reason to apprehend any danger from their proximity. But now the news that thousands of soldiers from the plague-stricken region of Santiago are to be landed at Montauk causes hardly a ripple of apprehension. It will be calmly said that the arrangements will be such that there will be no occasion for alarm; but that might have been said, and indeed was said, with little effect, when the cholera was approaching. Certainly the nerves of the community are a good deal steadier now than they were then.

Taking our Government's actual outlay for the war up to the present time, and comparing this with previous contests of the kind, it will be found that the Spanish war, thus far, has not been a costly contest. Army and navy expenses, at the present time, are using up something more than a million dollars daily. This seems at first sight an extremely heavy outlay. It must, however, be remembered that, even in time of peace, and with the small American standing army, the war and navy establishments have habitually cost the Government nearly a quarter of a million per day. The fact that the present contest has been concentrated at a few points, and that at only one of these points has there been really heavy fighting, has also tended to keep down the scale of cost as compared with other wars. How far an extension of the contest over a larger area affects the cost of war is amply shown by the experience of our civil war. In the twelve months ending June 30, 1861, before any active operations, the War Department cost the Government only $23,000,000. In the next twelve months—the fiscal year 1862—such expenditure rose to $389,000,000; in 1863 to $603,000,000; and in the year ending with June, 1865, the remarkable maximum was touched of $1,030,690,000. This represented an actual disbursement, for the army alone, of nearly three million dollars daily. Aside, however, from the facts that a much larger number of soldiers were in active service in 1865 than in 1898, and that waste of stores and ammunition had become enormous, it must be remembered that the depreciation of the currency in the civil war, and consequent violent rise of prices, even for Government purchases, did its part in heaping up the total of war expenditures.

An impression prevails in Wall Street that the new loan has been a failure in the sense that the Government did not realize the premium on the bonds, which is now equal to 4 per cent. or more. This premium would have been equal to $8,000,000, which has been reaped by persons who subscribed for less than $5,000 each. These are now gradually pocketing the $8,000,000 of profit by selling the bonds to capitalists of a larger class, who can afford to invest their money at a less rate of interest than 3 per cent. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Government seldom or never realizes the whole value of the bonds which it sells. Nor does a city or a State or a railroad company realize the entire value of its securities when it makes a large issue. The Government has issued bonds on five different occasions within five years, and in no other case has it come so near to realizing the full market value of the securities as in this instance. But the intention of the Secretary of the Treasury in this case was not to get the last possible dollar out of the bond sale, but to head off the demagogues who would be sure to raise a cry against "the money power" if the bonds were sold to a syndicate in the first instance. No group of bankers would have paid a premium of 4 per cent. They offered to pay 1 per cent., and they might have paid something more, but the political consequences would have been bad. There has not been a lisp of objection to this bond sale, whereas the Populist orators and the yellow newspapers made the welkin ring with their outcries against some of the loans made under the Cleveland Administration, and actually convinced many people that the Government had been defrauded by them.

The July revenue figures show that, in spite of the heavy increase in receipts, there is still a current deficit of $30,000,000 monthly, or about one million dollars a day. This, it is needless to say, is the largest monthly deficit since the civil war. The increase in the Treasury's cash balance during July was $49,186,000, which proves, after allowing for the revenue deficit, that $79,000,000 was actually paid in last month on the Government-bond subscriptions. The $121,000,000 of the loan remaining to be paid is to be received in equal instalments spreading over nearly five months; it is obvious, therefore, that if the deficit were to continue at the present rate, there would at the expiration of this time be no increase in the Treasury's cash balance, but a moderate decrease. In other words, there is no chance whatever of any more serious disturbance of the money market than has occurred already, and as yet there has been not a sign of stringency. As for the efficacy of the new internal taxes, it appears from the statement that last month's receipts from this source increased $6,400,000 over July, 1897, and $11,800,000 over 1896, which is a fairer basis of comparison. Except for the periods in 1897 and 1894 when internal-revenue receipts were swelled by anticipatory payments on the eve of a new revenue law, last month's taxes are nearly double those of any month since the last "war taxes" were removed in 1883. Of customs revenue not much can be said; had it been left alone, the Dingley act would still have been making deficits in time of peace. Slightly increased as it is over the early months of the current year, the July customs income remains almost at the level of years like 1893 and 1895.

The first result of the new primary-election law is the disbandment of the anti-machine Republican organization, as was predicted when the law was passed. In fact, it was this probable result which reconciled Governor Black to the enactment of the law. He foresaw, as others did, that when once the reformers consented to go into the primaries, all excuse for further "kicking" against the machine would be taken from them. They must abide by the result so long as they could not charge that the primaries had been dishonestly conducted. The machine leaders felt perfectly certain of their ability to take care of the "kickers" after they had once entered, for they knew to a certainty that their own men would always outnumber all representatives of the Better Element fully two to one. They have succeeded in their expectations, the party is harmonious, the machine leaders have overwhelming control, and all will go smoothly until a new opposition movement shall be started somewhere in the dim future. In the meantime the only hope of accomplishing anything which remains to the absorbed reformers is to induce a large number of indifferent Better Element citizens to "go into the primaries" at the next opportunity.

The attention of our people is so much absorbed by the war that the importance of the negotiations that are about beginning between this country and Can-

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ada is quite disregarded. Yet when we consider that Canada is among nations our third largest customer, the value of the goods that we sell to her being greater than that of our exports to nearly all the other States of North and South America, the indifference of our merchants to this trade is astonishing. Their imaginations seem to be so affected with dreams of the wealth of China and the islands of the South Sea, that the possibilities of a great commerce close at hand are totally ignored. Here is a country whose trade is worth more to us than the trade of all the rest of the continent, more than all the foreign trade of the Pacific Coast, and we can increase it enormously by a simple measure of rational legislation. We do not need to increase our army or enlarge our navy in order to secure this profitable commerce; on the contrary, the greater this commerce, the more superfluous will such armaments be. Every inhabitant of the Dominion, on an average, buys twelve dollars' worth of American goods annually, and if our tariff were abolished, the trade would probably double in a short time. Let people who want to find an outlet for our manufactures open their eyes to what lies right before them, instead of gazing off over the Pacific Ocean.

Mr. Hooley's revelations regarding the practices and troubles of a London "company promoter," which are now becoming explicit in his testimony before the court, will hardly surprise any one at all familiar with the nature of this peculiar industry. The London press, at the time the fallen "promoter" made his first accusations, some weeks ago, professed much surprise and disturbance over his allegation that blackmailing by newspapers had swallowed up the greater portion of his profits. Certainly the sums declared to have been thus expended were startling, Mr. Hooley having distinctly affirmed that to one newspaper he paid £40,000 for its support of his enterprise, and that a single "puff" in another paper called for £10,000. But the practice, so far as the London financial community is concerned, has long been a matter of notoriety. Nor need any surprise be excited by the names of the newspapers now given out as parties to the practice. Even American concerns, with legitimate undertakings to put out on the English market, have for several years found at the first step this obstacle of newspapers which must, in the American phrase, be "fixed." This rule appeared to apply with equal force in the case of enterprises where no "puff" was deemed essential. Disinterested friends of the promoter would assure him that he must begin by meeting the editors of these precious publications, because, if he ignored them, he might expect, not silence, but abuse and deliberate attack.

These methods, it is perhaps reassuring to observe, appear not to have been practised, even in Mr. Hooley's case, by the important London daily papers; but to have been confined to a swarm of so-called "financial dailies" published in the neighborhood of Capel Court. It might be imagined that since the practices of these publications were notorious, their influence on the public would have waned, and that with the decline of their influence the necessity for "arrangements" by the promoter would have disappeared. At all events, the payment of £10,000 in a lump, under such conditions, would seem to be preposterous. But here, it appears to us, Mr. Hooley has something for which to answer on his own account. It has been sufficiently proved by the action of the market for his shares, that the companies (such as the Dunlop Tire concern) which he bought up and retailed to the outside investor, were absurdly overcapitalized on the distribution. This, indeed, was essential to the procuring of such enormous personal profits as the promoter demanded for himself, his double problem being to induce a paying enterprise to sell out in a season of flush business, and to induce the public to pay a handsome bonus over this first advance. In such an undertaking, the need of "settling" with the purchasable press was obvious; for even if these papers could not aid the stock-jobbing scheme by their unstinted praise, they certainly had it in their power to wreck the plan by a thorough and truthful exposure of its weakness. As for the flutter among the titled "directors" in these various enterprises, we suspect that the chief interest to outsiders will be the curious infatuation of the English public over any association with a name of rank and station. The more intrinsically doubtful an enterprise, the more need of a noble name subscribed to its prospectus, and apparently the titled "founders" knew their value. Judging from Mr. Hooley's revelations, the cost of this sort of luxury came high; yet we presume that the promoter himself reckoned it in beforehand as an unavoidable "fixed charge."

One of the most important steps in British colonial policy that have been recently suggested is that of establishing a "Colonial Loans Fund." It has of recent years become the practice of the English Government to lend its credit to municipalities and other governing bodies, in order to enable them to effect loans at lower rates of interest. The justification of this practice is that the deposits in the Government savings banks must be put out at interest, and these municipal loans afford a convenient security. But the supply of capital is now so great in England that the larger local governing bodies find that they can do better by borrowing in the open market than by applying to the central Government. Hence the difficulty of lending the savings-banks deposits is likely to increase as the outstanding loans are paid off. It seems to be now the case that the savings banks are carried on by the Government at a loss; the rate of interest paid depositors being greater than that earned by their deposits, and the deficiency being made up from the public revenues. While it is wise for a government not to discourage saving, it is certainly unjust for it to compel subjects who have no money in the banks to pay a tribute to those who have, and the situation in England is therefore critical. The proposal brought forward by Mr. Balfour is for the Government to establish a fund from which loans may be made to the crown colonies under parliamentary authority, just as loans have been heretofore made to English cities. Doubtless a fund of this description would furnish employment for the savings-banks deposits, and very likely its establishment would be regarded with enthusiasm in the colonies. But whether it is for the interest of depositors that their money should be invested in the colonies through such financial agencies as Parliament and the colonial authorities, is a much more doubtful question. It is at least conceivable that a colonial government may not be able to repay a loan, and Parliament would then be obliged to make up the loss to depositors out of other revenue.

The Dual Monarchy is causing almost as much anxiety in Europe as the revolutionary movements in Spain and Italy and the disquieting menace of French militarism. The two divisions of the empire are still quarrelling over the *Ausgleich* that fixes their customs and tariffs and contributions to the common funds, and each state is disturbed with internal troubles. In Hungary an agrarian agitation, modelled on the familiar Irish pattern, has forced the large landowners to call in the help of the military. In Austria the hatred of the Germans and the Czechs, never more bitter than it is to-day, has been stirred up afresh by Count Badeni's ordinances placing German and Czech on an official par in Bohemia. The Czechs see in this recognition of the equality of the two tongues the first step towards their ideal of an independent kingdom of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and threaten to turn to Russia unless the ordinances are enforced. The Germans insist upon their repeal as necessary to preserve their political ascendency. Neither side will hear of a compromise, and so severe is the tension between the two races that at the recent manœuvres some German and Czech regiments fell foul of one another, and several lives were lost before they could be separated. Still, the Hapsburgs always manage to survive.

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PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

Spain's actual inquiry of President McKinley upon what terms peace may be made between Spain and the United States comes at an opportune time, when Congress is not in session and when the Executive Department can perform its duties with comparative calmness. Of course any treaty of peace must be ratified by the Senate, but negotiations of this character are conducted to much greater advantage by a small number of negotiators than by a large number. Constitutionally, the Senate has nothing to do with treaties till they are drafted and laid before it; but if the Senate were in session now, each individual Senator would expect to have his say about the terms. Under present circumstances it is possible for the President to offer the country a *fait accompli*, and for the country to form an opinion upon it, before the Senate is convened. This is certainly a piece of good fortune.

The text of the conditions of peace handed by Secretary Day to Minister Cambon on Saturday has not been made public, but there is little doubt that they embrace the withdrawal of Spain from Cuba and Porto Rico and the cession of something in the Ladrones and in the Philippines. The latest report is that the question of the Philippines is to be held open for future adjustment, and that, meanwhile, we are to maintain what we now hold there—that is, the harbor of Manila, perhaps the city itself. It is said that a cable dispatch from Admiral Dewey, saying that the native forces were becoming a source of anxiety to him, has inclined the President to leave to Spain the task of dealing with them. Another dispatch represents that the only influence capable of quieting the natives is that of the Roman Catholic clergy, and that without them no military force which either Spain or the United States could muster and maintain there, could preserve the fruits of civilization in the islands.

Against the policy of withdrawing from the Philippines it is said that we are surrendering the islanders to Spanish tyranny and misrule, and that that is not decent. This objection overlooks the fact that we have never had control of either the territory or the inhabitants of the Philippines, that we did not go to war with any reference to the Philippines, and that our being there at all is due to the accidental presence in Asiatic waters of Admiral Dewey's fleet. Do any or all of these facts impose obligations upon us respecting the natives of those islands? Some people talk as though we had originally taken up arms for the Filipinos. Others seem to think that we are in possession of the two thousand islands which compose that territory, and that it is now a question of giving them up, whereas we hold only a small scrap of land at the entrance to the principal town, which happens to be the seat of the provincial government. Still others talk as though it was our mission to deliver from oppression all peoples under the yoke of Spain, we being the judges of the oppression and of the kind of relief needful in each case—questions to be settled on the stump and in the newspapers of the United States.

All these assumptions are marvels of crudity and misinformation. When we went to war, not one human being in the United States had a thought of the Philippines. Few persons knew that they belonged to Spain. Fewer still cared whether they did or not. That we were not charged with any responsibility concerning them, however the case may have been with Cuba, everybody must agree. Did Admiral Dewey's victory over the Spanish fleet bring any such responsibility? Bear in mind that it was Cuba, and Cuba only, that we were fighting about, and that Admiral Dewey's fight was only one means of crippling the power of Spain, so that she would have less fighting machinery and less money to use against us in other places, and so that she might sooner be brought to terms of peace. Therefore, we incurred no moral responsibility touching the Philippines when we demolished Admiral Montojo's fleet. As a matter of fact, we have acquired nothing in that quarter beyond what is covered by the range of our guns. The territory in question is larger in area than New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, and the amount held by us is not so large or so populous as Staten Island.

How idle, then, to talk about the responsibility we have incurred in respect of the Filipinos. What does that responsibility consist of? Most advocates of annexation say that it is our duty to deliver the natives from Spanish rule; but are we sure that they would relish our rule any better? We have seen that the Cuban insurgents want nothing of us except that we shall drive out the Spaniard and leave the rest to them. The Filipinos probably want the same thing, and, if they are not to have it, will make all the trouble for us that they can. That these possibilities are weighing upon Admiral Dewey's mind seems clear from his later dispatches.

It is not moral responsibility, but greed of gain, that prompts the more influential part of our Philippine annexationists. They want the islands for what they can make out of them in the way of trade. That is an intelligible reason, and is a proper one in so far as it does not come in conflict with the principles which we proclaimed to the world as our justification for the war. This was not to be a war of conquest or a war for gain. It was not even a war for the human race in general. It was Cuban deliverance in particular. We promised when this was accomplished to make peace. Now this condition has been so far fulfilled that it is within our option to have peace on our own terms. And now a few traders, calling themselves Export Associations or what not, start up and demand more bloodshed in order to secure something which not one human being in the country cared for four months ago, and which the whole people would reprobate, and denounce, and shrink in horror from as an original cause of war. Yet if peace is within reach, consistently with the causes for which we drew the sword, then the prolongation of the war on account of the Philippines is the same thing in effect as going to war afresh on account of the Philippines.

MULTIPLYING DIFFICULTIES IN CUBA.

We are now holding and governing a little corner of Cuba—about one-twentieth of the island. We are doing it under favorable circumstances. It is a military government we have set up. It is in the hands of a man who has shown himself to be of great force and courage. He has practically absolute and arbitrary power. The experiment could not have been begun under better conditions, and yet the difficulties in the way are thickening every day, new obstacles meet Gen. Shafter at every turn, and the whole situation is clouded and threatening. In short, we have in the part of the province of Santiago which we are administering a sufficient and sufficiently disagreeable prophecy of the tremendous task which awaits us when we come to occupy the whole island, preparatory to leaving it "pacified" and with a "stable government" in beautiful operation.

Undoubtedly the insurgents are going to prove the ugliest factor in the problem. It is already evident that we must discriminate between the insurgents and the Cubans. The Cubans as a whole—meaning all those who have any property, or who expect to live by industry instead of politics—desire annexation to the United States. It was estimated before the war that this was the case with 90 per cent. of them, and reports as to the sentiment now prevalent confirm those figures. But the active insurgents are hot for a republic of their own. They want it at once, with all the spoils implied. Gen. Castillo, one of the better class of them, sets forth their hopes and fears, their plans and disappointments and rage, in an interview with a correspondent of the *Herald*.

Gen. Castillo speaks with a good deal of personal feeling, for he was, or thought he was, singled out to be Governor of Santiago. Gen. Garcia had appointed him. The refugees at El Caney had taken a vote and elected him. What better title to the office could there be? But Gen. Shafter cruelly ignored him. Castillo had thoughtfully appointed, in

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advance, all the officers of the new government, but not one of them got in sight of the promised land. They were not even allowed to enter the city. No wonder this fills them all with the most "gloomy forebodings" about the future of Cuba. They see their "long-cherished dream," a Cuban republic, "vanishing in the dim distance."

Not that Gen. Castillo cares so very much about a Cuban republic either. He says he is "no opponent of annexation," and firmly believes that it will "solve the Cuban problem with the greatest benefit to the island." But he desires ardently the establishment and recognition of a republic as a preliminary. It need not last very long. A few months would do, for in that time the Cubans would have got all the offices. If you pressed Gen. Castillo, we do not believe he would insist upon his republic lasting more than a day. A few minutes would really do, for then the bonds would be good and annexation would be robbed of its terrors. Precisely this is the position to which the insurgents and their bondholders have now come. They no longer pretend that they could set up a government in Cuba which would last or ought to last. All they want is a republic good enough to validate their bonds—or, as they express it, "the realization of the object of our long fight"—and then they are ready for annexation or any fate. But their bonds are so much waste paper and will never be anything else. President McKinley squelched the conspiracy to make them good when it was nearest success, and it will never again bid so fair to win.

The other difficulties of governing Cuba speak for themselves in the daily dispatches. The people over whom our rule is to be extended are of another language and religion, of different customs, of another system of law. In all these respects the process of adjustment must be enormously difficult. How are the Spanish law of crime, methods of justice, law of real estate to be reconciled to the American? Already there is a hitch over the minor matter of currency. The obtuse Cuban mind cannot understand why the American silver dollar, weighing less than the Mexican, should be worth twice as much. This would seem to indicate the need of Col. Bryan as military governor. But seriously, this little misunderstanding, laughable as it is, is but symptomatic of the great gulf fixed between Cuban ideas and American ideas—a gulf which must be successfully bridged before we can be said to have accomplished our work in Cuba.

What we see now in the island is just what we were told beforehand, by those who knew, that we should see. The character of the insurgents was no secret. Mr. Phelps warned us against them in vain. Those who had lived with them and fought with them told us the manner of men they were. All the other complexities into which we now find ourselves plunged were set forth with particularity before the war. But with inconceivable jauntiness the American people set out light-heartedly, as for a holiday excursion, upon an enterprise which we now see to be the arduous labor of years. The Scriptures picture the plight of a man who taketh a dog by the ears. We have now got the Cubans by the ears, in both senses of the phrase, and the process of letting go, to which we are pledged, promises to be as perilous as was that of taking hold.

POTENTIAL PREPARATION FOR WAR.

We think that history shows that three-quarters of the respect for its wishes and demands inspired by this country abroad comes, not from the actual size of its army and navy in time of peace, but from the impression produced abroad by the wealth and character of the population, and the widespread knowledge of the fact that we always prove in war a most formidable antagonist. Moreover, this is not a theory or "fad" of our invention, but has been the position taken by the country itself for the hundred years of its existence; it has been emphatically the American view of the subject as opposed to the European view, which has been that the only way to impress your neighbors with your importance was to be always armed to the teeth. The European view is illustrated by the existing military establishment of every great European Power and by the naval establishment of England. It is illustrated even by such a European country as Spain, which six months ago had a "war strength" of a million and a half men, with 120,000 veterans in Cuba all ready to attack the United States, a country, according to the European view, nearly defenceless.

We are well aware that the fact that it is really the long-established American view does not of itself prove that it is right; but the whole subject is so befogged, no doubt often unintentionally, by those who confound it with questions of strategy and actual warfare, that it may be worth while to call the attention of our readers to a few of the more notorious instances in which this old-fashioned American view of preparation for war has been brought to the test and proved to be worth something. To test the correctness of the European view, writers often appeal to considerations for which they draw upon their imagination. It is said, for instance, that if we are going to have a canal across the isthmus, we must have a great navy to defend it; the fact being that we have now a treaty with England under which the neutrality of any canal that may be made is guaranteed by England with the greatest naval force in the world. We shall not go into speculations of this sort, but content ourselves with citing a few cases in which the United States has successfully defied her powerful neighbors, and in one case the whole world, though unprovided with any adequate means of immediate attack or defence. It must, we think, be conceded that such instances, whatever else may be said of them, as far as they go, tend to prove that three-quarters of the force we exercise in the counsels of the world comes, not from the spectacle of our actual military and naval strength, but from the strength we are known to have in reserve.

The first instance to which we shall refer is that of the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823. In that year we suddenly announced to Europe "that the American continents, by the free and independent position which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Power." We had at the time a population of ten or twelve millions, and were unprepared for war; ten years before, the English had captured Washington and burned all the public buildings. We had no warrant in international law for the Doctrine, which, in fact, ran purposely counter to the established international right to found colonies here. Yet our mere declaration, coupled, of course, with the implied warning that future colonization would be resisted by us, accomplished our purpose so successfully that no European colonies have ever since been established here.

Our next instance is that of the Venezuela boundary, a case in which, being entirely unprepared by land and sea, we insisted that England should arbitrate a dispute with a third Power, threatening her with war if she refused. This was a more remarkable instance than that of the *Alabama* claims, in which we succeeded in getting an arbitration for ourselves without actually threatening war; but the Treaty of Washington was a distinct proof of the difficulty an armed nation may have in resisting the demand of an unarmed one.

Another memorable case is that of the *Virginius*, which at some points resembled that of the *Maine*, but in which we secured reparation without arming or preparation for war. The *Virginius*, flying the American flag, was overhauled on the high seas by the Spaniards, taken into a Cuban port, and her Captain and many of her crew, some of whom were American citizens, tried and shot as filibusters. For this Spain apologized, surrendered the ship, promised to salute the American flag, agreed to punish the officer who was responsible for the outrage, and paid indemnity—that is, Spain not merely made reparation, but humiliated herself in the dust. We were

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partly in the wrong, too, for the papers of the *Virginius* turned out to be fraudulent, and the salute to the flag was consequently waived. The English had claims growing out of the same incident, but we got much more reparation than they did, though we were practically unarmed, and they were, as they are today, the great naval Power of the world. The case is a remarkable proof of the truth of the American "theory" of the matter; so is that of Martin Koszta, on whose behalf we defied Austria in 1849 with a single frigate, and so laid the foundation of the whole modern doctrine of the right of expatriation, gradually though unwillingly adopted by Europe at our instance.

We might mention other conspicuous instances in which this country has secured important triumphs, although entirely unready for war, but we have selected only those about which there can be no doubt. There is much room for dispute over the Monroe Doctrine, and over the Venezuela case, and over that of the *Virginius* and Koszta, but there is no sort of doubt that they are all illustrations of extreme demands made by this country, forced in one case on Spain, in another on England, in a third on Austria, and in a fourth on the whole of Europe, without our arming or in any sense preparing for war. Why were we successful? We can think of no military reason except that what we proposed, though very unpalatable, was less unpalatable than a war with what the experts would have called our weak, unprepared country.

Questions of this sort are, in fact, not questions for military or naval experts, but for the plain average American citizen to settle for himself by the study of history and the evidence accessible to everybody. These are not questions of fighting, but of how to avoid the necessity of fighting, and here military and naval authority is of the worst possible, since all its training and bias is of the opposite kind. The question on which we have made these suggestions is not one for a military or a naval board, but for the people at large to decide, because the decision rests with them. When we go over the list of our achievements in the last hundred years we are quite at a loss to conceive what more we could have done had we turned every man into a soldier and launched a new battle-ship every six months. Above all, do not let us be deceived into the belief that the theory of a great permanent military and naval establishment is American. It is a European superstition, to which our whole history gives the lie.

THE ISOLATION OF OUR COUNTRY

There is one particular in which the most intolerant and vociferous patriots admit that our country deserves criticism. They openly confess, with more or less affectation of humility, that we have done wrong in following a policy of isolation, or at least that we shall do wrong if we continue to follow it. This discovery of our national shortcoming has had a particularly marked influence on a number of our religious editors. After great searchings of heart they now profess conviction of sin. They confess that this people has been following too much its own devices and desires, and neglecting its responsibilities as a member of the community of nations. It must repent of its selfishness, and take part with other countries in the great work of civilizing and Christianizing the world. But just what this work is to be, and what part we are to take in it, our prophets will not disclose. They put us off with reference to the good pleasure of the Almighty, or with warnings, not insincere, perhaps, about not being wise overmuch. In this there is some excuse for them, but there is no excuse for any uncertainty as to what is meant by the isolation of our country. That is not something in the future, but relates to the past and the present; and if we have been guilty as a nation, we have a right to demand that our offence be clearly stated and properly proved. Since no definite answers to these inquiries are vouchsafed to the public, we will answer them ourselves.

We have isolated ourselves. We have passed laws intended to keep other nations from prospering by preventing them from selling goods to us, while we were trying to sell goods to them. We have intentionally ruined foreign industries, and brought foreign workmen to starvation, and have exulted in it. We have levied high duties on books and works of art, and have thus done what we could to exclude the highest civilization and isolate ourselves from the most advanced development. We have built a Chinese wall of tariffs against our neighbors on the north and against our neighbors on the south. We have tried to hurt the poor fishermen of Newfoundland and the poor miners of Mexico, and have endeavored to make the planters of Cuba and the ranchmen of Argentina pay our taxes. We have done these things from avowedly selfish motives, and on the ground that we were looking out for our own interests and not for those of other nations; and we have boasted of our success. Of such a policy of isolation we may plead guilty, and, for our own part, we need hardly say that we have denounced this policy in season and out of season, and been denounced in return as "un-American" for doing so.

But in equally important respects we have not isolated ourselves. We have boasted, and we did well in boasting, that this country was the refuge for the oppressed of all nations. We have welcomed the poor people of Europe to our shores and our homes. We have invited them to a land where they should be free in their religion and in their lives, in their thoughts and in their acts. We have provided them with the blessed privileges of education for their children and of homes for their families. We have welcomed them to a happy land, where the right to labor and to accumulate and enjoy the fruits of labor was a fundamental principle of the Constitution and was carefully recognized by our laws, as it was nowhere else in the world; a land where taxation was not burdensome, and where they could enjoy exemption from the perennial curse of older countries, the crushing weight of military armaments. We have accepted them as fellow-citizens on the ground of the equality of all men, as the children of a common Father, and shared with them that sacred right of self-government proclaimed in our Declaration of Independence and our Bills of Rights. We have sometimes faltered in our course and wavered in our policy; but we have on the whole exhibited to the world the most splendid example of non-isolation that the world has ever seen or can ever again see.

And now we are asked to abandon our generous principles of human equality and self-government, of peace and freedom, and engage in military struggles. Our imperialists do not talk of war, but they mean it. They tell us that other nations will spring at our throats if we are not on our guard; they pray that we may be quick to resent insults, and insist on steps that will convert the friendly feeling of other nations into hatred and hostility. Henceforth no American can expect to be a welcome traveller in Spain, perhaps soon not a welcome visitor in France or Germany. We are advised that we must arouse the fear and jealousy of other countries by creating armies and navies that shall make them feel their inferiority to us. We may continue to welcome immigrants, but only on condition that they are ready to go to war with the countries of their birth, and slaughter their own kith and kin. We shall stipulate that they must come prepared to submit to the military yoke which they hate, and to pay the taxes required to maintain this yoke. They may continue to come and labor, if they will labor on the conditions which have made their lot miserable in other countries. They may enjoy such of the fruits of their labor as our Government will not take from them to maintain armies and fleets and fortifications in all quarters of the globe. This, we say, is not to abandon isolation, but to abandon the most glorious and beneficent example of non-isolation which history presents.

What of the isolation that the party in power has practised and boasted of? Washington, who, in the opinion of our modern patriots, must now be called

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rather the grandfather than the father of his country, his counsels being thought to show signs of senility, advised us to avoid entanglements with foreign Powers. But he in the same breath advised us to extend our commercial relations. Have we outgrown these counsels, to which, indeed, we have never grown up? What imperialist dares to mention free trade? What Republican politician ventures to hint at the abandonment of protection? What recent convert to admiration for England's course towards weaker peoples proposes to imitate the only feature of her policy which has made it successful, the overthrow of all commercial restraints? Concerning these things a veritable policy of "isolation" exists among the leaders of the Republican party; but they will be obliged to emerge from their seclusion. Let them tell the country whether the trade of the colonies they propose to annex is to be thrown open to the world, or to be kept for the exclusive benefit of our merchants and manufacturers. When this question is answered, the world will know what judgment to pass on the magnanimity of our motives.

BISMARCK.

Otto Edward Leopold von Bismarck, who died on July 30, was born at Schönhausen in the Old Mark of Brandenburg, Province of Saxony, Kingdom of Prussia, on the 1st of April, 1815. He came of a line of country gentlemen whose main business was always the care of their estates in the Mark and in Pomerania, but who incidentally, like most Brandenburg gentlemen, served their princes in war, and sometimes as diplomatists or administrative officials. The record of the family runs back to the thirteenth century, and the estate of Schönhausen has been in possession of the younger branch for more than 300 years.

The country gentlemen of Prussia held, in Bismarck's youth, a position very like that of the landed gentry of England. They were the governing class, and managed the affairs of their districts; and the country gentleman who developed an exceptional talent for administration, passed easily and naturally from the government of his neighborhood to the administration of the province or of the kingdom. By way of preparation for these duties and possibilities, the future landholder sometimes studied law, and even entered the judicial or administrative service of the state, without necessarily intending to become either an advocate or a professional official. In accordance with this excellent usage, the young Bismarck, at the age of seventeen, was matriculated in the law faculty at Göttingen, and spent three semesters as a student in that university—but, if Göttingen traditions are to be trusted, cannot be said to have studied there. At Berlin, however, where he completed his law course, he must have studied; for he passed the state examination with credit, and entered the state service. After one year's work as assistant (*Auscultator*) in a Berlin court, and nearly three years' administrative service as *Referendar* at Aix-la-Chapelle and Potsdam, he resigned his position, and, at the age of twenty-four, assumed, with his brother Bernhard, the care of his father's Pomeranian estates. For eight years the future Chancellor of the German empire devoted himself to sheep-raising and grain-growing, relieving the monotony of his life by hard riding and occasional hard drinking, but also by hard reading and travel. In 1845 he was elected a member of the Pomeranian Diet. The death of his father, in the same year, gave him the ancestral seat of Schönhausen, and carried him from Pomerania to the Mark. Here he obtained his first administrative office, that of Superintendent of Dikes, and here also he was elected to the Provincial Diet; and when, in 1847, King Frederick William IV. attempted to solve the parliamentary question by collecting the representatives of the eight provinces, Bismarck went to Berlin as a member of the "United Diet." He was only an alternate delegate; but the proper representative, as it chanced, fell ill, and Bismarck's political career was opened.

It was an uneasy time in Germany and Prussia when the United Diet came together, and it was soon to be a stormy time. The German people were dominated by two aspirations, popular sovereignty and national unity. That these objects were not merely distinct, but to some extent incompatible, the people wholly failed to realize. The two ideas had gained their hold upon the German mind in the same historic period—that of the first French Revolution and the Revolutionary wars (1789-1815). The Revolution had infected the Germans with the democratic fever, and the subjugation and humiliation of Germany by Napoleon had awakened a specific German patriotism and shown the necessity of national union. In the War of Liberation (1813) the German governments, and notably the Government of Prussia, had appealed to both of these popular ideas. They had promised the people liberty and unity. When the victory was won, when Napoleon was dethroned and France reduced to its pre-revolutionary boundaries, the German governments broke their pledges. Germany was organized, at the Congress of Vienna (1815), into a loose confederation of sovereign states; and in the majority of these states, including Prussia and Austria, the princes retained absolute power. The people naturally lost all faith in their rulers, and began to look to a popular uprising and the establishment of popular sovereignty as the only means of national unification. So the two ideas became fused: the nationalists were all Liberals, and to a great extent Democrats; and, by an inevitable antithesis, all the Conservatives were particularists, identifying the maintenance of princely power with the system of state sovereignty, *i. e.*, the system of German disunity. All agitation in favor of national unity was punished as treason.

The European Revolution of 1848 gave the Liberals an unexpected opportunity to attempt the realization of their programme—unity through liberty. The Paris insurrection and the dethronement of Louis Philippe kindled the flame of revolution throughout Germany; and everywhere, at first, the German revolutionists achieved complete success. All the German princes who had thus far retained absolute power gave or promised constitutions; and those who had already given constitutions appointed Liberal ministers and promised Liberal reforms. Prussia and Austria succumbed to the popular movement as completely as the little states; and Austria, the bulwark of conservatism, was brought to the edge of ruin by simultaneous insurrection in Hungary and Italy. Constitutional liberty seemed assured, and the Liberal leaders had now free hand in their attempt to secure national unity. A German Parliament, elected by universal suffrage, met at Frankfort and addressed itself to the task of framing a national constitution for a new German empire.

It was characteristic of the *doctrinaire* spirit of the movement that the central and vital point of the whole question was the last to be considered. There were in Germany two great states, either of which was stronger than all the little states together; and the prime question was: Which of these two states, Prussia or Austria, shall have the hegemony in the new Germany? But as neither of these states would peacefully submit to the rule of the other, the question immediately restated itself: Which of these two states is to be excluded from the new Germany? The answer could not be doubtful. Prussia was the more modern and progressive of the two states, and in the customs union she had brought all the German states except Austria into commercial unity. The Parliament finally excluded Austria from the empire, and offered the imperial crown to Frederick William IV. of Prussia. But this result was not attained until the spring of 1849. The reaction had begun; the princes had largely recovered their courage and reestablished their power, and Austria had fought through the worst of her embarrassments. Consequently, the offer of the imperial crown to Frederick William IV. was simply an invitation to him to mobilize his army and fight for it. The success of such a venture was doubtful; and from the Conservative point of view the stake was not worth the risk. The Liberals in the Frankfort Parliament had gained the adhesion of the Democrats and secured a majority only by making the Constitution of the new empire so democratic that the Emperor would have been a mere figurehead. Frederick William of Prussia accordingly refused the imperial crown, and the revolutionary experiment was at an end. For a brief space, in 1850, Prussia and Austria seemed likely to come to blows and the German question to a solution. But Russia threw its whole influence, and threatened to throw its whole force, on the side of Austria; and Prussia, in the convention of Olmütz, November 29, 1850, yielded every point in dispute. The old Confederation was reëstablished in all its old impotence, and the Federal Diet resumed its sessions at Frankfort.

What was Bismarck's position on all these questions? Towards the constitutional movement in Prussia his attitude was one of bitter and uncompromising hostility. In the United Diet of 1847-'8 he figured as a Tory of the Tories. He was more royalist than the King, and opposed every diminution of the kingly prerogative. When the King promised a Constitution (1848) and summoned a constituent Parliament, Bismarck refused to stand for election. When the King dissolved this Parliament, published a Constitution of his own, and summoned a new Diet, Bismarck reëntered politics and sat in this and in a second Prussian Assembly; but this he did only on the personal solicitation of the King. Towards the unity movement and the Frankfort Constitution his attitude was that of a cynical critic. He supported the

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King in his refusal of the imperial crown because "all the real gold in it would be got by melting down the Prussian crown." He sat in the Erfurt Parliament, but clearly saw the hopelessness of its attempts and occupied himself in throwing cold water upon the enthusiasts. During the Austro-Prussian disputes of 1850 he spoke and voted in the Prussian Diet with the Austrophils, and defended the convention of Olmütz.

When the German Confederation was reëstablished, Frederick William IV. sent Bismarck to the Frankfort Diet as the representative of Prussia. It was essentially a diplomatic position, for the Diet was nothing but a standing congress of ambassadors; and the appointment of a man without diplomatic training was a breach of Prussian traditions. It was also a position which involved the assertion and defence of Prussia's interests against Austria; and the appointment of a pronounced friend of Austria seemed likely to result in a sacrifice of Prussia's interests. Bismarck undoubtedly owed his appointment to his legitimist, or rather absolutist, attitude in Prussian politics. His defence of the royal prerogative had won him the confidence of the King. His attitude towards Austria made his appointment particularly suitable. After Olmütz, it would have been absurd for Prussia to send to Frankfort an ambassador who was not *persona grata* to Austria.

Bismarck's appointment was no error. His attitude towards Austria resulted in no sacrifice of Prussia's interests. His support of Austria during his parliamentary career had been dictated by party feeling. The Conservatives rightly regarded Austria as the bulwark of conservatism, and Bismarck was a thorough Conservative. His support of the Olmütz convention was due, as we now know, not to his Austrian sympathies, but to his conviction that resistance to Austria and Russia was hopeless. He saw the wisdom, as his friend Von Wagener tells us, of "eating the dish of revenge cold." At Frankfort (1851-'9) he soon became a thorn in the side of the Austrians by the persistence and adroitness with which he countered their schemes and strengthened the Prussian influence. His dispatches are of such literary excellence as to make them one of the monuments of classical German prose; and they show such breadth of view and keenness of insight as fully to explain the rapid advancement of the writer to the highest position in the Prussian state. The business actually transacted in the Frankfort Diet was petty and unimportant to the last degree; but Frankfort was a central point of European intrigue, and the most vital questions of European politics were touched in Bismarck's dispatches. The King and his Premier, Manteuffel, consulted their ambassador at Frankfort upon all leading questions of state policy; and his advice seems commonly to have been followed—notably during the Crimean war, when France, England, and Austria endeavored to draw Prussia into an attitude of hostility to Russia, and Bismarck convincingly maintained the absence of any Prussian interest in the war and the impolicy of aiding Austria. He wrote in 1856:

"In every century since the time of Charles V., German dualism has settled its relations by an internal war, fought to the finish; and in the present century also there will be no other way of setting the clock of our development at the right hour. . . . I desire to express my conviction that at no distant time we shall have to fight with Austria for our existence."

And in 1859, just after the outbreak of the Italian war, he wrote that the embarrassments of Austria gave Prussia an exceptional opportunity to readjust her relations to Germany; that these relations amounted, for Prussia, to a disease; and that this disease, unless radically cured at some such favorable moment, would have to be treated, sooner or later, *ferro et igni*. Here is already the line of thought which led to the war of 1866 and the formation of the North German Confederation; and here is also, in its first form, the famous phrase, *Eisen und Blut*.

The letter last cited was written from St. Petersburg. Bismarck's hostility to Austria had become so pronounced that the Prussian Government, not yet prepared to accept his policy, had deemed it advisable to promote him out of Frankfort, and, as he himself expressed it, to "put him on ice" on the Neva. Here he remained as Prussian ambassador for three years, 1859-62.

During the latter part of Bismarck's term of service at Frankfort, King Frederick William IV. had been attacked by a disease of the brain, and in 1858 his brother, Prince William, had assumed the regency. In 1861 Frederick William died, and the Prince Regent became King. One of the chief causes of Prussia's disgraceful submission at Olmütz was the imperfect condition of her army; and King William, a soldier before all things, was resolved upon a thorough reorganization of "the instrument." The plan involved a serious increase of the budget, and this the Chamber of Deputies refused. Bent upon the realization of his plan, and foreseeing an obstinate conflict, the King sought a minister who would carry out the royal will in spite of the Deputies. He needed, for this purpose, a man completely devoted to prerogative, resolute in action, and fearless of consequences; and no other man seemed to him to possess these qualities in the same degree as his ambassador at St. Petersburg. In the spring of 1862 Bismarck was summoned to Berlin and offered a portfolio. At his own request he was first transferred to the embassy at Paris. He had devoted his three years in St. Petersburg to cementing the friendly relations already existing between Russia and Prussia, and had convinced himself that Russia would not interfere again, as in 1850, in behalf of Austria. He desired to be equally certain of Napoleon III.'s neutrality. He seems to have obtained satisfactory assurances upon this point; and, in the autumn of 1862, he returned to Berlin and assumed the premiership.

Prussia's internal politics during the next four years were extremely simple, although very stormy. Each year the Deputies refused to vote the increased military appropriations. Each year the Diet was dissolved and new elections ordered. Each new election increased the anti-governmental majority. But the people, even when the agitation was hottest, continued to pay their taxes; and the upper chamber, which was completely under the control of the Government, voted the desired appropriations. The money was then spent by the Government without authorization from the Deputies, and the army was reorganized according to the plans of the King and his War Minister, Von Roon.

Prussia's foreign policy during these years, on the other hand, seems very intricate and somewhat tortuous; and as far as the details are concerned, it was necessarily so. Bismarck had assumed the direction of Prussia's affairs with the intention of solving the German question by establishing the hegemony of Prussia. This could be done only after a successful war with Austria. To assure Prussia's triumph, Austria must remain isolated; that is, Prussia must maintain cordial relations with France and Russia. So far, all was clear and simple; but the realization of these main objects—*i. e.*, the *method* of their realization—depended necessarily upon the course of events. A liberal commercial treaty (1862) improved Prussia's relations to France; and the insurrection of 1863 in Russian Poland enabled Bismarck to render Russia useful aid and to place her under a debt of gratitude. The death of Frederick VII. of Denmark, November 15, 1863, gave him a chance to precipitate the solution of the German question.

The Schleswig-Holstein question, although a complicated one, is not so unintelligible as is commonly supposed. These two German duchies had long been united with Denmark; but the union was what is called a "personal" one, *i. e.*, Schleswig and Holstein were not parts of Denmark. Their association with Denmark was the result of a dynastic accident. The Danes naturally desired to make the union a real one. In the way of their ambition stood the facts, (1) that Holstein belonged to the German Confederation; (2) that old treaties guaranteed that Schleswig and Holstein should never be separated. Hence the incorporation of Schleswig was impossible without the simultaneous incorporation of Holstein, and the incorporation of Holstein was impossible without the assent of Germany—an assent which the Danes could not hope to obtain. The *condominium*, or joint sovereignty of Prussia and Austria in the duchies, consequent upon the invasion of Schleswig by Prussia and Austria, in February, 1864, was precisely what Bismarck desired. Believing that war with Austria was necessary for the solution of the German question, it seemed to him convenient to have a cause of war always ready; and such a relation as that now established in the duchies would necessarily be fruitful of causes for war. Further, whenever the war should come, these duchies would be for Prussia an extremely desirable addition to the stake in play. They represented a possible gain for Prussia, but no possible gain for Austria. Their position would make their annexation to Prussia both feasible and natural, while Austria could in no case dream of annexing them. From this point of view, Bismarck's diplomacy was especially skilful, and the association of Austria in the enterprise was its most masterly feature. Bismarck himself declared, after the French war, that the Schleswig-Holstein campaign was the one of which, from a political point of view, he was proudest.

The joint ownership of the duchies speedily led, as Bismarck had anticipated, to dissension, culminating in the brief war which was practically terminated by the great Prussian victory of Königgrätz or Sadowa, July 3, 1866. After Sadowa, Prussia was in a position to dictate the terms of peace. The military men wished to enter Vienna and to demand a strip of Bohemian territory. Bismarck feared a joint intervention of the neutral Powers, and desired a speedy set-

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tlement. He also urged the impolicy of inflicting lasting wounds upon Austria's national pride; and, after a hard struggle, he carried his point. Preliminaries of peace were signed at Nicholsburg, July 26, and the final treaty at Prague, August 23. Italy (in return for her alliance by a secret treaty) received Venice; Austria conveyed her interests in Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia, and recognized the dissolution of the old German Confederation and the creation of a new North German Confederation, to be composed of the states north of the Main. North of the Main, also, Prussia was to annex such territories as she saw fit, promising to spare Saxony. The South German states were to be permitted to form an independent confederation of their own. (This they never did.) Austria was for ever excluded from Germany. Prussia annexed Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and the free city of Frankfort—territories which added four and a half millions to her population and increased her territory by a fourth.

From this epoch the history of Bismarck is known beyond the need of its rehearsal here in the details of the war with France. But we must not slur over his part at the decisive moment of the French demands on Prussia through Benedetti. On the evening of July 13, 1870, he received a telegraphic account of the occurrences of the morning at Ems, closing with the suggestion, on the part of the King, that the new French demand and its refusal be made public. This suggestion Bismarck carried out in the most literal fashion, and, by omitting all minor details, he gave to the public the impression that the negotiations in Ems had terminated more abruptly than was really the case. The Germans thought that King William had been insulted—which was true as regarded the substance of the French demand, but untrue as regarded the form of its presentation—and the smouldering indignation that had been kindled by the arrogant tone of the French orators and of the French press burst into a flame of wrath. The Parisians thought that their Ambassador had been insulted, and demanded an immediate declaration of war.

The most important result of the war was the completion of German unity. In South Germany local patriotism and religious prejudices had heretofore stood in the way of union with Prussia. These obstacles were swept away in the enthusiasm of this national war. In the march from the Rhine to the Seine, Bavarians, Würtembergers, Hessians, and Prussians felt themselves, as never before, one great people. The diplomatists had only to put the stamp of law upon the accomplished fact. During the winter, treaties of union were concluded between the North German Confederation and the South German states; and on January 18, in the Hall of Mirrors in Versailles, King William was proclaimed German Emperor. The prophecy of Frederick William IV. had come true—that the imperial crown would be won on the field of battle.

The new empire, with its twenty-five states and its one territory (Alsace-Lorraine), embraced, at its establishment, over 40,000,000 people, a number which has since risen, by the natural increase of population and in spite of emigration, to more than 50,000,000. Its Constitution is simply a revised edition of the North German Constitution of 1867. The position of the South German states, barring a few "reserved rights," is identical with that of the North German states. Their governments are represented in the Federal Council and their people in the Imperial Diet.

In this Parliament Bismarck never found—nor in the light of his experience with the Prussian Diet could he have hoped to create—a passive instrument of his or the Emperor's will. The Parliament and the people behind it have always had and have constantly asserted an independent will of their own. But the people and the Parliament of the new empire have not at any time offered any such blind and obstinate resistance to the realization of vital national interests as did the Prussian Deputies before 1866. The internal politics of the empire has been full of conflict, but every conflict has been fought out within the lines of the Constitution, and settled by some compromise which has preserved at once the interests of the state and the liberties of the citizen.

Death at this stage of his career would have assured Bismarck the highest place in the hearts of his countrymen and in the estimate of posterity. His contest with the Ultramontane party, the "culture conflict," was a virtual failure. So was his measure of strength with the Socialists. His financial schemes for the imperial budget disrupted the National Liberal party, and imposed a protective policy upon the empire. His promotion of colonial acquisitions has yet to be judged. His conduct of German diplomacy during the early years of the empire is generally recognized as altogether masterly and successful. In this domain, even the most obstinate opponents of his internal administration conceded his supremacy.

The death of William I. and the brief reign of Frederick III. (March 9 to June 15, 1888) worked no change in the position or power of the Prince Chancellor. The humane and idealistic Frederick had little sympathy with Bismarck's rough and often cynical realism, but he showed no disposition to discharge a minister who had rendered such service to the dynasty and the nation. Bismarck had equally little sympathy with such a character as Frederick's; but he stood ready to serve the son as loyally as he had served the father.

Whatever peril of a breach existed was thought to be removed when William II. became Emperor. The new ruler was but twenty-nine years old; he had grown up during the triumphs of Bismarck's diplomacy; it was understood that he shared, or reflected, Bismarck's views. But it soon became clear that the young Emperor had ideas and a will of his own, and was not inclined to be guided by an all-powerful premier. To an energetic disposition he added the conviction of a personal responsibility to be discharged by personal attention to all governmental affairs. The question soon arose whether Bismarck, as President of the Prussian ministry, was to continue to exercise the powers of a premier as he understood them, or whether the monarch, to use Bismarck's expression, was "himself to act as Minister-President." On the 17th of March, 1890, the Emperor demanded Bismarck's resignation. A few days later the ex-Chancellor left Berlin, amid great demonstrations of popular affection and regret. We pass over his long and ignoble quarrel with the Emperor in inspired editorials and personal interviews; the nominal reconciliation; the slow and painful decay of the ex-Chancellor's physical powers.

Bismarck was a man of great stature and athletic frame. In his youth and early manhood he was an excellent fencer, a powerful swimmer, and a tireless rider; and at the age of fifty-five he bore the exposure and fatigue of the winter campaign in France, not merely without injury, but with positive benefit to his health. In later years his increasing weight unfitted him for physical exertion, but his capacity for protracted mental labor, always phenomenal, was unimpaired at the close of his public career. He possessed strong social instincts and great social talents. The perception of the characteristic in men and in things, the faculty of sketching in words, the frequent wit and the constant caustic humor which made him one of the best of letter-writers, made him also one of the best of talkers. This talent he turned to good account, not in European diplomacy only, but in German politics as well. Many questions that could not be settled by debates in Parliament, were adjusted over the beer and in the smoke of his famous "parliamentary breakfasts" in the Wilhelmstrasse.

He was not commonly regarded by the Germans as a good parliamentary speaker. In England he would have been regarded as one of the best. The German taste in public speaking inclines to the oratorical; Bismarck's manner was always conversational. The substance and the arrangement of his speeches were excellent. They were always adapted rather to convince his hearers than to excite their admiration. They contained, nevertheless, more quotable sayings, and have enriched the speech of Germany with more quotations, not, perhaps, than the writings of her great poets, but certainly than the spoken words of any German since Luther.

His writings have not only the excellence often observed in men of action—the simplicity, directness, and vigor of a Wellington or a Grant—they have in high degree a distinctively literary quality and charm. The vague word is avoided, and the precise, unique word is found; the current phrase, that has lost its edges by wear, is replaced by a phrase fresh-minted and clean-cut; there is the unexpected term that is wit without the obvious intention, and the suggestion that is not quotation; there is everywhere the perception, not only of the intellectual, but also of the sensuous value of words—in sum, there is style. When Bismarck's letters were first published, the novelist Heyse is said to have thanked God that that man had gone into politics, "because he would have spoiled our trade."

The qualities that distinguished Bismarck as a statesman were rapid and accurate perception of the central and decisive points in the most complicated situation; tenacity of purpose in following his chief end, combined with readiness to vary, with every change of circumstances, the mode of its pursuit; and a rare degree of moderation at the moment of fullest triumph. Of this last trait he gave striking evidence in the terms accorded to Austria and to the Prussian parliamentary opposition after the victories of 1866.

In the earlier stages especially of his public career, Bismarck showed himself a master of diplomatic strategy, but where finesse seemed needless he often employed methods that savored of brutality. It should, how-

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ever, be remembered that the belated political development of Germany forced upon him, in an age that is humane to the verge of sentimentalism, the rough work which William the Conqueror did for England in the eleventh century, and Richelieu for France in the seventeenth. One great merit of his diplomacy was its general truthfulness; nor is this merit lessened by the fact that, because of the persistence of an opposite tradition, Bismarck's frankness was often more deceptive than another man's lies.

DREYFUS AND THE SOUL OF FRANCE.

NEW YORK, July 25, 1898.

Some time ago in two companion cartoons in *Figaro*, a caricaturist depicted the influence of the Dreyfus affair on French social relations. The first, showing a dinner party of men and women who regard one another distrustfully, and resolve not to touch the terrible and dangerous topic, bears the legend: "They will not talk about it" (*On n'en parlera pas*). The second and lower one shows the end of the dinner: all the guests tumbling pell-mell over each other and fighting like savages; and the legend explains everything: "They have talked about it" (*On en a parlé*). This farce sums up and symbolizes the state of France for six months, during which two parties have come to blows not only with ardor, but with a fanaticism not often met with in purely judicial questions.

It was, however—and that was the terrible viciousness of this affair—not a judicial question. Owing to the fact that the army was involved, many "patriots" refused to listen to anything, and considered blasphemous a single word that might affect the so-called "honor of the army." Then, when Zola had launched his "I accuse," when journals (mostly Socialist) had also begun to attack certain generals, the anger of the patriots turned to frenzy. Their susceptibility was wounded to such a degree that henceforth their minds could entertain no other thought than a concern to avenge what they styled "the insults to the army." And it is this susceptible, punctilious, and almost morbid patriotism that has given the Dreyfus affair an acute character, and has prevented it from being discussed and studied under normal conditions.

Moreover, some, even many, went so far as to maintain, if not in the press, at least in conversation, the frightful theory that the tranquillity of the state and "the honor of the army" were well worth the sacrifice of a human life; and that after all, even if Dreyfus was innocent, reasons of state compelled silence in order not to compromise those who had involuntarily committed the monstrous mistake. Such was the theory one heard repeated currently, and which was even attributed to eminent statesmen. In the statement which M. Cavaignac made the other day in reaffirmation, with proofs which the official dispatches declared to be very strong, but which in reality were of as doubtful value as all which had preceded them—in this statement, I say, the Minister of War protested for the first time against so frightful a theory. "If I were not convinced," he said, "that Dreyfus is guilty, no consideration of public safety would induce me to keep an innocent man in the galleys." Unfortunately, many of those who applauded these words were not so convinced; and in this, perhaps, consists the gravest sign of the present French crisis—namely, the indifference with which many men, even among the most distinguished, view the possibility of the sacrifice of an innocent man.

There were, thank God, in France, besides the great mass who were violently hostile to the work of justice, or remained indifferent to it, a genuine élite, small in number but strong in intellectual and moral worth, who, from the very outset, planting themselves on the ground of violated legality, energetically maintained the necessity of revision. To appreciate the courage involved in taking this attitude, you must imagine what public opinion in France was, six months ago—overwrought and malignant, every morning assured by five or six newspapers that a "syndicate of foreign Jews" was plotting the ruin and dishonor of France. All those who appeared to incline to revision were immediately considered anti-patriots, members of the "syndicate." This pretended syndicate, charged with having, by a lavish use of gold, succeeded in corrupting half the country, is one of the most absurd and humiliating legends with which the press has ventured to feed the public gullibility.

Well, in spite of the unpopularity attaching to this attitude, there was throughout enlightened France an admirable impulse of civic courage. After M. Scheurer-Kestner, the aged Senator who had sacrificed his peace, came M. Gabriel Monod, an eminent historian, professor in one of our highest schools, editor of the *Revue Historique*, who, in a letter made public, also expressed his belief in the innocence of Dreyfus. Third and next came Zola, who, with his vigor, his brutality, and his lyricism, began not only to praise M. Scheurer-Kestner, but to take sides with him as holding his opinion, and as being also "of the syndicate." And after Zola came a host of young writers, his admirers or friends, who ranged themselves behind him as much out of admiration for his courage as by convincement.

Several powerful adhesions swelled the "syndicate." The worthy successor of Pasteur, the illustrious savant Duclaux, after the reading of the indictment on which Dreyfus was condemned, wrote to Scheurer-Kestner a letter which was published, and prepared for the *Siècle* quite a series of notes of which the force and wisdom struck everybody. Other precious recruits were M. Trarieux, former Minister of Justice, a Bordeaux advocate of great talent and a generous soul; and M. Yves Guyot, likewise a former minister, and a journalist of the most valiant bravery. Then, in their train, came Jaurès, the powerful Socialist orator, who, almost alone of his party, confronting—he, the popular tribune—unpopularity, the greatest terror of politicians, dared in the Chamber to interpellate the minister, in the Court of Assize to testify in admirable language in Zola's behalf, and finally, before his constituents (the height of courage), to brave the defeat which he in fact suffered without flinching.

Another man of the very first rank, whom people were not a little astonished to meet with in this affair, was the gentle philosopher, the exquisite ironist and rare writer, Anatole France. Hitherto, absorbed in literature and in acute and bantering observation of contemporary manners (as set forth in his masterpieces entitled 'L'Orme du Mail' and 'Le Mannequin d'Osier'), he seemed a stranger to all personal activity. Nevertheless, this sceptic also dared to face the wrath of the mob and to offer his testimony to Zola.

Beside these leading lights were soon seen mustering a great number of men of letters, of professors, of Protestant pastors, of physicians and young students, who signed petitions and addressed appeals demanding a revision of the trial. In the forefront the Collège de France placed M. Albert Réville, the illustrious professor of exegesis, and Havet, the Latinist. The Sorbonne contributed M. Séailles, professor of philosophy, Brunot, professor of philology, Seignobos, professor of history. The École Normale Supérieure gave almost all of its pupils and professors. The École des Chartes, preeminently the school of historical criticism, was particularly interested in the *bordereau*, and one saw such men as Paul Meyer, the director, M. Giry, and M. Viollet join the fray. In the provinces, innumerable young professors, regardless of the danger to their careers from a manifestation of this kind, lifted up their voices for right and legality. M. Charles Gide of Montpellier, an eminent professor of political economy, always foremost in every bold and independent movement, also proclaimed himself a resolute partisan of revision. The son of Renan, the painter, Ary Renan, and his son-in-law, Prof. Psichari, are among the most ardent "Dreyfusards."

This movement, which grew daily, was dubbed the movement of the "Intellectuals." An "Intellectual" possessing a certain keenness of wit, but a lamentable mediocrity of character, and who, while a refined littérateur, can be a politician of the lowest order, working upon every passion of the mob, M. Maurice Barrès, thought to chaff those "Intellectuals" who courageously withstood the injustice of the majority. His raillery had a partial success. Many did not dare to come out, and one of the most disquieting symptoms of the general health of France was the kind of terrorism imposed upon the nation at once by the raillery of people like Barrès and the insults of low journals. Many men free to speak on other subjects were completely dumb on this. Journalists who on every question manifested great independence and courage, were afraid to whisper a syllable on this. Francisque Sarcey, the veteran journalist, who boasts of being the representative of good sense, and has more than once been the mouthpiece of all sensible people, has never uttered a word about the Dreyfus affair. M. Jules Claretie, M. Jules Lemaître, who chatter about everything—the one in the *Temps*, the other in *Figaro*—have appeared not to know that the country had a case of conscience before it. Eminent and popular professors like Lavisse and Gaston Paris did not dare to express their opinion, which is known to everybody.

In particular, the attitude of the French press has been one of the most curious ever seen, and never has despotism, Cæsarian or clerical, suspended liberty of thought and expression as much as the simple fear of displeasing the mob has suspended it in journals which, on every other subject, speak with a freedom bordering on audacity. Three or four distinctly took sides for revision, to wit, the *Siècle* of Yves Guyot, a journal moderate in politics, anti-Socialistic, and anti-protectionist in political economy;

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the *Aurore* of M. Clémenceau, a violently Socialistic journal; and the *Droits de l'Homme*, a journal founded expressly to defend the cause. The *Rappel*, the *Petite République*, the *Radical*, and the *Signal* were impartial or rather favorable. Three or four other journals were professionally hostile, namely, those of the pamphleteers, "the amusers and poisoners of the public," as Channing says, the *Libre Parole*, the *Intransigeant*, and the *Autorité*.

But apart from these sheets, on one or the other side there is a considerable body of papers generally very independent, and which open their columns to the greatest diversity of opinion. Such are the *Gaulois*, the *Eclair*, the *Echo de Paris*, *Figaro*, the *Journal*, whose only principle is to entertain the public, and which often welcome writers differing most widely from each other. Well, among these journals there has reigned incessantly such a censorship that the most popular and eminent contributors saw their articles rejected, and were forced, in order to utter their opinions, to resort to allusion and to ruses similar to those employed by writers under the Second Empire. The *Eclair*, which professes to be "absolutely independent," became the very monitor of the État-major, as did also the worldly and frivolous *Echo de Paris*, the great majority of whose staff could not express their conviction as being opposed to that of their chief. One of the colaborers of the *Eclair* resigned. The *Journal* declined a number of articles from its staff, and nobody reading it would have suspected that nearly all those who wrote for it were admirers of Zola. Journalists like Bergerat, Séverine, Alexandre Hepp were seen talking of other matters when the Dreyfus affair preoccupied the public mind as its sole topic. The *Journal des Débats* forfeited by its attitude the confidence of all its liberal readers.

That great newspaper the *Temps*, representative of the enlightened bourgeoisie, had to perform prodigies of diplomacy in order to satisfy both parties among its supporters. The editors were, on the Dreyfus question, exactly divided into two numerically equal groups. Its foreign editor, M. Francis de Pressensé, whose high political competency, broad erudition, and profound independence of spirit are known abroad, is one of the most militant partisans of revision.

One man has been remarkable for finesse and dexterity: I mean M. Anatole France. Writing for the *Echo de Paris*, the army journal and the bitterest of the "anti-dreyfusard" organs, he succeeded in insinuating skilful allusions and sly implications which recalled, to those gifted with a fine perception, the most admirable prodigies of style on the part of the journalists of the Second Empire, obliged to elude the menaces of the censor. This shows, alas, that all tyrannies, alike of monarchs and of collectivities, produce the same effects. The mob has its courtiers as do kings, and there is sometimes more courage in opposing a raging mob than in resisting a tyrant. "The weightiest arguments," writes a French publicist, Raoul Frary, "are invalidated before a numerous mob, and no courage is rarer than that which consists in pleading a lost cause simply because we find it just and with no hope of making it triumphant." The French Intellectuals who have had this courage perhaps deserve to have their valor and perseverance blazoned to the world. History, which will doubtless one day judge severely the attitude of the public authorities and of the majority of the French people in the Dreyfus affair, cannot overlook the part of those citizens of courage and good faith who are also France, and who, better than what Ibsen calls the "compact majority" and the imbecile multitude, have stood for its true genius of independence, generosity, and humanity.

OTHON GUERLAC,
Editor of the Paris *Siècle*.

THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN JAPAN.

TOKYO, July 8, 1898.

What has been so long sought for in Japanese political life has at last been attained, though at an unexpected time and in an unlooked-for way. A party cabinet has finally been established in the room of the Satcho Government that has ruled the country for nearly thirty years. The change has come so quickly and so noiselessly that perhaps nobody is more surprised than the opposition parties which successfully accomplished the result. The significance of the new order of things is unquestionable. Many intelligent Japanese hold it to be not less important than the great Revolution that overthrew the Shogunate thirty-one years ago, and think it yields in historical importance only to the opening of Japan to the world through the efforts of Commodore Perry.

The occasion of a fresh attempt on the part of the Opposition to attack the present Cabinet was furnished by the late dissolution of Parliament. Scarcely had the imperial rescript done its work when the leaders of the two great parties, the Jiyuto and Shimpoto, began to broach the question of a union of the two organizations. It has often been a puzzle why these two parties, with platforms essentially identical, with common purposes and for the most part common methods of action, have generally been antagonistic to each other. Their divided organization left the field open to their enemies, the Satcho, who made the most of playing off one party against the other. This truth finally dawned upon the minds of the party leaders themselves. As Count Itagaki declared at the dissolution of his own party only a few weeks ago: "Each party has tried the experiment of coöperation with the clan statesmen, and each has found it a failure. The reason is that the Government attaches no real importance to political parties, but merely consults its own convenience in taking them up and then casting them off." Or, as another speaker described this state of things, "it was a system that enabled the clan statesmen to plant their feet on the necks of their opponents." Unless the parties combined their forces, it was clear that the men in possession could never be overcome.

When once the first step towards a reconciliation of the party differences was taken by the party leaders the rank and file changed front directly. Parliament was dissolved on the 10th of June. Immediately afterward began a series of conferences between the chiefs of the Liberals and Progressives. On the 12th the Tokyo press was in full possession of the facts, and was eagerly discussing the possibilities of the new movement in all its phases. On the same day the representatives of the two parties issued a manifesto to their constituents which subsequently became the basis of the platform of the new party. In fact, all that remained after this conference was the dissolution of the old party organizations—a measure required under Japanese law—the appointment of an executive committee, and a general meeting of the party men to endorse the platform which the managers were instructed to arrange. It was decided that the new party should be called the *Kenseito*, or Constitutionalists—a term whose indefinite character suggests and yet conceals the object of the party.

A preliminary meeting of the Constitutionalists was held on June 16. It was an important occasion, because both the leaders of the old opposition parties, Count Okuma and Count Itagaki, gave it the prestige of their presence. The speech of the former was devoted to a skilfully worded account of a somewhat threadbare subject in Japan, namely, the origin of the present Satcho Government. The statesmen who had held the reins of power since the Restoration, he declared, had never given Japan a thoroughly national administration. They were to be compared rather to the Tokugawa Regency, who, while acting in the name of the Emperor, really prosecuted their own designs and increased their own power. The spirit of the feudal times still existed, he added, in spite of the progress made during the past forty years. Count Itagaki's speech ran on similar lines. So long as the influence of the clan government continued to exist in Japan, it was hopeless, he said, to expect any radical improvement in the conduct of affairs. Both speeches aimed at the same goal—the overthrow, not of the existing Cabinet, which, indeed, they scarcely attacked, but of the system of cabinets which had been imposed on the country by the Satcho immediately after the Restoration.

The definite organization of the Kenseito was completed on June 22. Previous to this date the two old parties, the Jiyuto and Shimpoto, had been disbanded, and nothing stood in the way of a formal inauguration of the new party. The meeting was a very large one. The paraphernalia of the occasion in the shape of flags, colored draperies, and music were provided on a liberal scale; the speakers were the best that the combined parties could furnish, and the whole proceeding was arranged on the principle that nothing succeeds like success. The announcement that the leaders of the old parties, Counts Okuma and Itagaki, had formally applied for admission to membership in the Kenseito, was greeted with prolonged applause. The spirit that animated the meeting was precisely what the party managers intended it to be—a bold challenge to the Government, disputing its authority, and demanding its overthrow. Of the platform of the new party little need be said. It had but one distinctive plank, and the rest was what any party of whatever complexion could easily subscribe to. The authority of the Emperor and the Constitution, the maintenance of a peaceful foreign policy within the limits of a careful adjustment of the balance of power in the East, moderate taxation and expenditure, development of commerce and industry—all these are popular catchwords in every political platform in Japan. The really distinctive part of the platform was the second article, pledging the Kenseito to the principle of party cabinets—that is, cabinets representing the majority of the lower branch of the Parliament. From

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the sentiments of all the speakers of the occasion, as well as from its order in the platform, it was evident that this clause had brought the two parties into a single organization.

In every political crisis in Japan there is always an inexplicable something that baffles outsiders, and for which even the Japanese can often furnish no adequate explanation. About the time of this great celebration a mysterious transformation began to take place in Government circles. About ten days before this date, rumor had it that Marquis Ito was endeavoring to form a Government party composed of National Unionists—leading business men—and the disaffected elements of the other parties. The newspapers, which had been filled with accounts of the progress of the new political movement (the Teiseito or Imperialist party), suddenly confessed that the scheme was to be abandoned. The followers of Marquis Ito, who had been said to favor the establishment of a new party with the greatest enthusiasm, all at once retired into the background. Finally, to the surprise of every one, pro- and anti-Government, it was said that Marquis Ito with all his Cabinet intended to resign office and had recommended to the Emperor, as successors, Counts Okuma and Itagaki, who had just made their brilliant *coup* as leaders of the Kenseito. The rumor proved true. A few days after the 22d a letter was published from the Premier, in which he begged the Emperor not only to relieve him of his office, but of all his titles as well. With evident sincerity he wished, after years of the highest political honors, to return to private life as plain Mr. Ito, leaving to his political opponents the task of organizing the system of party cabinets. After an interval of only a day or two his resignation was accepted, without, however, the loss of his titles.

Two explanations of this extraordinary proceeding suggest themselves. One is that the business men who at first were inclined to rally around Marquis Ito's standard, finally yielded to their fears and refused their coöperation. Business in Japan enters into far closer relations with the policy of the Administration than it does in America. If the united parties should prove strong enough to oppose the present Cabinet successfully in the next session of Parliament, the business men feared that they could expect but scant sympathy for any legislation they might advocate. But, after all, the secession of the business men must have been a minor consideration in the mind of Marquis Ito. The significant fact probably is that he was himself in sympathy with the principle of party government. The Premier is of the Choshu clan, but it has been evident for several years that he is utterly weary of the task of supporting an unpopular system of government. The Satsuma wing of the Satcho has been opposed to him on important occasions, and even in the last session of Parliament intrigued against him. Whatever his faults, there can be no question of his sincerity and patriotism. He is said to have expressed the opinion several years ago that party government in Japan was only a question of time, and depended upon the cohesion and force of the parties themselves; when that time arrived he should be the first to welcome it.

From the moment of the resignation of the Ito Cabinet, events developed rapidly. A feeble attempt was made to organize a Satsuma Cabinet, under the leadership of Marquis Yamagata, and thus to prolong the life of the old order of things. But Marquis Ito's advice seems to have been decisive with the Emperor. The Premier had offered his resignation on the 25th of June. By the 28th it was settled that Counts Okuma and Itagaki had entered into a conference with the leaders of the Kenseito for the purpose of organizing a new cabinet. On the following day a note was published in the Official Gazette stating that the Emperor, out of regard for the wishes of his people, accepted the Ministers proposed by the representatives of the people. On the last day of June it was formally announced that the Cabinet formed by the two Counts had been installed in power.

The new Cabinet is organized almost entirely on party lines. The exceptions are the portfolios of the Army and Navy, which remain for the present in the hands of the former Ministers—a concession secured by Marquis Ito from his successors. But it is understood that the heads of these two departments will take no part whatever in the political struggles of the nation, either in or outside Parliament. The other eight Ministers are all members of the Kenseito. Only the two leaders, Counts Okuma and Itagaki, have ever before been Ministers of State, and of the other six, only one has occupied the post of Vice-Minister. In the sphere of actual administration they are untried men, though in other respects they are men of pretty wide political experience.

It is characteristic of Japanese politics that the consummation of the hopes of the popular parties has, after years of struggle, been accomplished at last without any public demonstration whatever. Yet public opinion is gratified, and deeply so. Expressions of regret at the new system, or of fault-finding with the appointments, are very few, while congratulations are showered on all sides. Yet it is doubtful whether amid all this feeling of satisfaction the public realize the full importance and responsibility of the political revolution. They are inclined to think that their worst difficulties are over, and the future comparatively plain. They do not see that their toils have but just begun. One problem already confronts the new Administration. Many of the partisans are bringing pressure upon it to turn out a large number of the present office-holders, most of whom are men of trained knowledge and long experience, and to put in their places men who have followed the party standards. Probably no extensive disposition exists to welcome the "spoils system" as such. But there is a strong feeling that the present incumbents of office have held their places by favor of the Satcho, and this is the excuse for urging a clean sweep. Whatever the other faults of the old Government, this charge, though once true, is no longer so. And one clean sweep would surely be the entering wedge for another upheaval, when the next turn of politics put another party in possession. In Japan, where clannism, though gradually weakening, still possesses a powerful hold upon the minds of the people in all parts of the country, a system of spoils would have an incalculable power for evil. Nor do intelligent men foresee what may result from the imperfect organization and constitution of the political parties. The Kenseito is but a newly fledged party; it stands without traditions, and possibly with little cohesion. Should the new party yield to internal wrangling, or should it not be strong enough to meet the combination of opposition parties not yet bound together by any organized principles, party government in Japan may for many years furnish another melancholy example of barren political experiments and premature ideals. G. D.

Correspondence.

MUNICIPAL JUNKETING.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The annual encampment of the G. A. R. is to be held this year in Cincinnati, and the Board of City Affairs appropriated $10,000 for "expenses to be incurred during the G. A. R. Encampment in Cincinnati, to be held in said city in September, 1898." But it was not stipulated exactly what was to be done with the money, and an unconscionable taxpayer, who seems to doubt the unselfish purposes of the city authorities, brought suit in the Superior Court to enjoin the expenditure of the money, and hired two of the best lawyers in the city to prosecute the action. Though counsel based their argument on purely legal grounds, which evidently carried conviction to the Court, certain facetious references were made to the danger of the money being spent for things not strictly in the category of extra police or sanitary protection.

The Court, in a seriously considered opinion, granted the injunction. It was held that if the money was intended for the social entertainment of the visitors or others, the appropriation could not be allowed, inasmuch as the Constitution and laws do not contemplate the expenditure of the public funds for such purposes. The Court cites an instance in the year 1872 when it was proposed to invite Gen. Grant and Horace Greeley to be present at the Cincinnati Industrial Exposition. Upon that occasion, the city authorities having voted money to pay the expenses of entertaining these distinguished guests, upon application of the City Solicitor the General Term decided that such an expenditure could not be made. (Moore vs. Hoffman, 2 Superior Ct. Rep., 453.) If, on the other hand, the money was intended for procuring extra police or light service, or for taking increased sanitary precautions, as was neatly contended by the Corporation Counsel, then the appropriation is invalid for two reasons.

(1.) The scheme of municipal government for the large cities is so constituted in Ohio that all public expenditures must fall within certain classified departments under control of the several boards. An appropriation cannot be made which does not specifically provide for some object within the care of the appropriating board. If the money is to be used for extra lighting or extra police service, then there should have been a provision made by the proper board in the semi-annual appropriating ordinance for that particular purpose. Every sum set aside for the city's needs from the city's general fund must be made to provide for an object which is legally in the care of the city's legislating bodies, and all such appropriations must set forth specifically and with detail how the money is to be used. This precaution is taken to give citizens an opportunity to scrutinize and criticise the doings of the governing

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boards and to prevent the diversion of the public money into improper channels.

(2.) The second reason why the appropriation cannot stand is, that before appropriations for the specific needs of the city authorized to be made from the general fund can be made, estimates of expenditures in the various departments must be submitted by their executive heads to the appropriating boards, so that the tax levied for the year can be set accordingly. Since this appropriation for the G. A. R. Encampment was made without having been included in the estimates sent to the tax-levying authorities, it must follow that there is no money legally in the treasury to meet the proposed expenditure from the general fund. The Court insists that the above-named steps prescribed by law are mandatory, and must be taken before an appropriation can be made valid.

The Judge evidently felt that the decision would not be popular even with those who do not think great things of the G. A. R. as a patriotic body. It is believed by many business men that the Encampment is of great benefit commercially to the city, and these may wish that the plaintiff taxpayer had desisted from asking for the injunction, in the commercial interest of the city. Besides, the turn things have taken may, perhaps, be construed by other communities into niggardliness on the part of Cincinnati. But the Court had to perform its duty and was clearly right in its decision.

It seems a pity that more thought is not given in our large cities to the reception by the Executive of visitors of real distinction. By this, of course, I do not mean the entertaining of large societies like the G. A. R. or Knights of Pythias. We are occasionally visited by notable foreigners, statesmen, and scientists, and by men of importance in our own country—for example, the President of the United States. But the executives of our cities are unfortunately not always the cultivated men proper to represent the city on such occasions; and, furthermore, if funds were provided for public receptions of this kind, the money would not always be used for the purpose it was intended for—as was suggested in the hearing before the Superior Court of Cincinnati. A. J. F.

Notes.

The Doubleday & McClure Co. will publish in the fall Conan Doyle's 'Songs of Action.'

From the Century Co. we may expect 'The World's Rough Hand,' by H. Phelps Whitmarsh.

'Hawaii and a Revolution,' by Miss Mary H. Krout, is in the press of Dodd, Mead & Co.

R. H. Russell's fall publications will include 'Sketches and Cartoons,' the third in the series of drawings by Charles Dana Gibson.

The forty-sixth annual report of the Boston Public Library is noticeable for the evidences of congestion caused by too scanty space in so large a building. In these days of "manifest destiny" it is safe to predict an ultimate doubling of the edifice by the absorption of the remainder of the block. A lecture hall is among the crying needs, and, once provided, the Library would make its lantern-slides from its vast resources in photographs and in books. The report states that the gifts to the Library since the erection of its present domicile have equalled one-twelfth of its entire cost, approximately. The number of newspapers currently taken is 319, and a recent acquisition for the shelves is a file to date of the London *Times*, going back to 1809. The average Sunday attendance is between three and four thousand. Almost no sale is reported of the list of periodicals, newspapers, transactions, and other serial publications currently received in the libraries of Boston and vicinity.

The report antedates a welcome piece of intelligence which we find in the current *Library Journal*, that Mr. Worthington C. Ford, for nine years chief of the Bureau of Statistics at Washington and until displaced by the "spoils system," has been secured by the Boston Public Library to take charge of its new department of statistics.

The Child Memorial Library at Harvard now exceeds 2,000 volumes, and the number given exceeds that bought, including many rare and valuable editions. It is contemplated to store this collection, together with those of the departments of German and of Italian and Spanish (400 and 500 volumes respectively), in Holden Chapel, but not before next year.

"The Geological History of the Isthmus of Panama and Portions of Costa Rica" is the subject of a paper by Robert T. Hill in the Bulletin of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy at Harvard College (Vol. 28, No. 5). The writer treats of the topography of the region, and describes at length the geology of the continental section, Colon to Panama, the Pacific Coast from Panama to Punta Arenas, and a continental section across Costa Rica. The concluding portion is a discussion of the union of the continents and the problems of the straits. In Mr. Hill's opinion, the assertion so often met with that the two oceans have been frequently and recently connected across the Isthmus is not supported by evidence. There is nothing to show, from either a geologic or biologic standpoint, that any communication has existed since Tertiary times. The palæontologic evidence indicates the ephemeral existence of a passage at the close of the Eocene period. Seven maps and twelve heliotype engravings illustrate this Bulletin.

Quite the most interesting feature of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for July is a translation of extracts from the letter-book of Capt. Johann Heinrichs of the Hessian Jäger Corps, 1778-1780. The writer was a man of good education and some versatility, and of fair judgment, and his views are often amusing even when least flattering to the American character. The cheerful tone of his letters from Flushing, Long Island, in April, 1779, would have been heightened if he could have known what Gen. Greene was writing at the same time from the American camp, as shown in a subsequent part of the *Magazine*. A year later, Gen. Greene could express himself to his correspondent, Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth, about Congress only in cipher—332 standing for Congress, and 1,012 for rascals, "as great a set as ever got together."

The principal contents of the *National Geographic Magazine* for July are an article, illustrated by excellent relief maps, on the origin of the physical features of the United States, by G. K. Gilbert, and an account of the Government geographic work, by H. Gannett. There are also sketches of the geographic and historical development of the District of Columbia and Washington.

The most noteworthy article in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for July is by Prof. J. Geikie, on the geologic history of the tundras and steppes of Europe, with special reference to the morainic and loess deposits. It is accompanied by several maps showing the glaciation of Europe at different epochs and the present distribution of loess. There is also a description, by Mr. W. Ogilvie, of the Yukon District of Canada, with an excellent map; and an article, "From Astrolabe to Quadrant," giving an account of the instruments carried by Columbus and the other great discoverers of the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century.

The quarterly statement for July of the Palestine Exploration Fund opens with a detailed description, with plans, of the configuration and character of the ground on which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is built. This is with especial reference to the preparation of an essay by Dr. C. Schick on the genuineness of the church, or the true site of Golgotha, to be presented to the Emperor of Germany at his projected visit to the Holy Land in the coming autumn. Other articles are on Hebrew and Babylonian poetry, by Lieut.-Col. Conder, tables of meteorological observations at Jerusalem, from 1882 to 1896, and some interesting photographs of buildings at Petra. The important announcement is made that a renewal of the permission to excavate has been granted by the Porte.

The Continental literature of the past twelve months is reviewed by native writers in the *Athenæum* for July 2; Italy and the Balkan States being the only countries unrepresented. The general impression left is, that the period has been one of great productiveness in nearly everything but works of the first importance. There has possibly been a falling off in biographical literature; a gain in works, light and serious, treating of social questions; and an apparent increase of women writers. Among the interesting facts noted is the publication of several German books in Belgium. This is the result of a national movement among the 50,000 Germans in that country. Till quite recently they had allowed themselves to be quietly "Gallicized," but now they have established free public libraries of German books, they publish German newspapers, and insist on the use of the German language in Parliament itself, and are apparently building up a national literature. It is a pathetic and yet hopeful sign that the most important literary work in Spain is the endeavor to revive and preserve the memories of its past glories, in the publication of histories and collections of historical documents, as well as new editions of the works of its great writers. The Russian chronicler notes the appearance of some metrical translations of the poems of Edgar Poe, and adds that he "can boast in Russia many more admirers and friends than he can claim in America."

'Aus allerlei Tonarten,' by Otto Braun (Stuttgart: Cotta), is a neatly printed volume of 148 pages, of which the first fifty-four contain translations from the writings of José de Espronceda, José Somoza, Lope de Vega, Angel Maria Dacarrete, Luisa Arroyo, and other Spanish poets. These translations are in the metre of the original and are exceedingly well done. Dr. Braun, like

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Gottfried Kinkel, Julius Froebel, Carl Schurz, and nearly all progressive and patriotic Germans fifty years ago, was active in the Revolution of 1848, and, after the suppression of that movement, went to Paris and afterwards to Spain, where he acquired a passionate love and thorough knowledge of Spanish literature, together with a strong aversion to the politics and priestcraft, the blind conservatism and bigoted clericalism, which have produced the decline and decadence of a once powerful nation. After his return to his fatherland, Dr. Braun was for more than a quarter of a century editor-in-chief of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, one of the most high-toned and influential organs of public opinion in Germany. In the midst of the arduous duties of a journalist he found leisure to visit the haunts of the Muses. In the tasty little book just issued the author has preserved the choicest of these "Pierian blooms."

Two university stipends for women of 150 florins ($72) each have been founded by the Austrian poetess, Frl. Marie von Najmajer. They are to be awarded to pupils of the Mädchen gymnasium established by the Verein für Weitere Frauenbildung in Vienna, in order to enable them to pursue their studies at the University. A rather invidious stipulation in conferring the stipends gives precedence to the daughters of Government officials and officers of the army.

In the historical section of the exhibition of reproductive arts, held in Munich in June and July, was to be seen, among other rare and interesting collections, that of Dr. Martin Schubart, to which we call attention because it is now permanently located at the Bavarian capital, and can no doubt be examined by art students, also, after the close of the special exhibition of which it temporarily formed a part. The collection contains etchings, finely colored, by Italian artists of the last century; a number of the earliest English mezzotint portraits, and engravings of the eighteenth century, printed in colors, from several copper plates; among the latter are two by Le Blon (born at Frankfort in 1667), the inventor of the process. Bruckmann's publishing house at Munich has issued a neatly printed catalogue of the works in Dr. Schubart's collection, as well as a list of all the firms represented in the abovementioned exhibition. Many of these are not as widely known as they deserve to be.

Some notion of the increase in the value of fine Greek vases during recent years may be formed from the fact that at the sale of the Tyszkiewicz collection in Paris in June, a red-figured hydria, with some of the figures painted in colors, was bought for the museum at Lyons for 20,500 francs.

In Mr. John Edmands's letter to the *Nation* last week respecting the germ of 'Poole's Index,' he was made to write from Baltimore instead of from the Mercantile Library in Philadelphia.

—The annual judicial statistics published by the English Government are very elaborate, but come out rather slowly. The volume of "Civil Judicial Statistics" for England and Wales for the year 1896 has but recently made its appearance, the letter transmitting it to the Home Secretary, Sir Matthew White Ridley, being dated March, 1898. It should, however, be said that the year 1896 seems for many purposes to end on March 31, 1897. The editor is Mr. John Macdonell, who holds a title that twenty-five years ago would have sounded very American—"Master of the Supreme Court." It is a quarto paper book of 269 pages, and contains information relating to the work of the judicial committee of the Privy Council, the House of Lords, the Supreme Court of Judicature, County Courts, and other civil courts. It belongs to the series of Government statistical publications, so continually appearing in England, which are not distributed, as ours used to be, by the car-load from the centre of government, but placed for sale with reputable publishing houses, from whom copies are to be had through any bookseller. In the present case the price is 2s. 5d., which probably represents little more than the cost of production. By this means, such publications really go to those who want them, and to no one else, while what they yield goes to defray expenses which otherwise must fall on the general public. The judicial statistics for 1896 seem to have been compiled with great care, but not in such a way as to throw much light on questions relating to courts in other countries. The following points, however, are interesting. For the five years which ended March 31, 1897, the "net charge of service" for the Court of Appeal and the High Court of Justice (*i. e.*, the difference between the receipts and expenditure) was £140,403 9s. 2d., or about $700,000, which is almost exactly the sum put down as paid for the salaries of judges on the bench. The ordinary fees pay for the greater part of the whole outlay. The expenses of election petition trials are stated at £2,034 11s. 4d. a year, which is no doubt enormously less than the expense, as it used to be, of parliamentary petitions. In bankruptcy proceedings and in "Companies Winding Up," receipts are put down as exceeding expenditure, while for the County Court service the annual deficit is made about £130,000. It is almost impossible to make comparisons between judicial expenses here and in England, because we have a much larger population, scattered over a vast territory, and a double judicial system, Federal and State. The actual amount of money disbursed by the United States for salaries of Federal judges alone seems to be, Supreme Court, $90,500; Circuit Courts (salary $6,000), $132,000; Court of Claims, $22,500; District Courts (salary, except in four cases, $5,000), $352,000—total $597,000.

—The Society for the Education of Every Egyptian Youth, to which Prof. Willard Fiske has devoted himself with characteristic ardor, continues its publications designed to familiarize the Egyptian public with the Roman transliteration of its own speech. Cards displaying the Egypto-Arabic and Roman alphabets side by side; broadsides to the same effect, or containing syllabic and other spelling exercises, or names of men and women, or short stories, have been handsomely printed for wide distribution. Pending the publication this month of an accurate catalogue of Egyptian post-offices, Prof. Fiske has edited a very readable little pamphlet, 'All about Postal Matters in Egypt' (Florence: The Landi Press), which every Nile tourist can enjoy and profit by, for it is as lucidly written as it is elegantly published. We have first, on the cover, the Egyptian alphabet in Roman guise, with values; then a geographical section respecting the nomenclature of Egypt, its main divisions, counties and provinces; then a list of sixty-five of the principal post-offices, with population affixed; then a section on cities and their (postal topographical) features; a section on Egyptian names of foreign places; another on personal names, with lists for both sexes; a readable brief account of the present admirable postal service, with a glimpse at its curious history; and finally statistics of mail matter, etc. The back cover contains forms of letter addresses. No propaganda could be more intelligent than this, and it should commend itself to the British rulers of Egypt.

—It is astonishing how slowly the sentiment in favor of the admission of women to the universities is gaining ground in Germany. To be sure, three hundred and fifteen female students attended the various universities of the Empire during the academic year just closing, but most of them were foreigners; and the German physicians, at their recent meeting at Wiesbaden, adopted resolutions to the effect that no especial benefit would result from the admission of women to medical practice, nor any great harm as long as the facilities for their preparatory education were not extended beyond their present scope. In case, however, further advantages (such as the opening of girls' gymnasia by the state) should be granted, the crowding of larger numbers of women into the medical profession would prove detrimental rather than beneficial to woman herself, while it would be of little benefit to the sick, bring no advantages to the universities or to science, and, while detracting from the dignity of the medical profession, would not further the welfare of the people at large. On the other hand, the inevitable must have dawned upon the assembly when it adopted the additional resolution that, in case the pursuit of the study of medicine by women should assume greater proportions, both their preparatory and professional training ought to be in every respect equivalent to the requirements made of men. Furthermore, individual voices, claiming for woman the rights which the rank and file would still deny her, continue to be heard. Thus, Prof. Dr. Lehmann, director of the hygienic institute of Würzburg, in an address delivered for the benefit of the "Frauenheil" society and published in the Beilage of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Nos. 141 and 142), heartily defends the cause of woman practitioners. It is to be regretted that Emperor William, whose personal opinion (as has been seen in the gymnasium-reform movement) is not without weight in educational matters, has declared that the sphere of woman is properly limited by the "three K's," *i. e.*, *Küche, Kinder, Kirche*, or Cooking, Childbearing, and Churchgoing.

—Any serious attempt to restore Sir Gawain to his ancient rights in Arthurian story deserves a hearing, and Miss Jessie L. Weston's 'Legend of Sir Gawain' (London: D. Nutt) is such an attempt. Her results are, briefly, as follows: Gawain was originally a solar hero, and in that capacity possessed a distinguished horse, such as a sun-god ought to have (the *Gringolet* of French romance), and a matchless sword, *Excalibur*, in later story transferred to King Arthur. His chief adventure has come down to us, in a somewhat rationalized form, in Chrétien's account of *l'Orgueilleuse de Logres*, for whose sake the hero is hard bested. This adventure is parallel to that of the Irish hero Cuchulinn in 'The Wooing of

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Emer.' Comparison reveals it in its original character as a "visit to the Other-World" and the winning of its queen to wife. The adventure with the Green Knight is one of the tests by means of which Gawain won his immortal bride. The story of Gawain and that of Perceval were brought into connection at a very remote date, and Perceval was probably once regarded as Gawain's son. It is also likely that Gawain was the original lover of Guinevere, and that he was ousted in later times by Lancelot. The more or less constant parallelism between Gawain and Cuchulinn points to their substantial identity, and proves the Celtic origin of the Gawain myth. It would require much space to discuss these propositions, with several of which we can feel no sort of contentment. In one point, however, Miss Weston has done good service: she has demonstrated that Middle Irish literature cannot be neglected in any scholarly discussion of the "matter of Britain."

CHANCELLOR KENT.

Memoirs and Letters of James Kent, LL.D., late Chancellor of the State of New York. By his great-grandson, William Kent. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1898.

James Kent was born in 1763, and died in 1847. Though his birthplace was in the State of New York, and his whole life passed here, he was a New Englander by descent, and, like his father and grandfather before him, took a degree at Yale. As in so many other cases of distinguished Northern Americans, his male ancestors were mainly substantial farmers or Presbyterian clergymen, well known, in the narrow little world in which they lived, for sturdy integrity or learning, but beyond its borders not known at all. Dr. Uriah Rogers of Connecticut is mentioned as the Chancellor's only noted ancestor. His grandfather, the Rev. Elisha Kent, was a Puritan, a strict old divine, whose severity is believed to have had an effect in turning his grandson's mind in the direction of liberality. All the early associations of Kent's life were such as to form good habits and a good character, but there was nothing in them to give him any special intellectual training or turn, and when he left college at the age of eighteen, though he says himself that he had "college honors and a very promising reputation," almost his whole equipment for the task that lay before him—not merely his unequalled range of learning in our law, but his mastery of literature and history, ancient and modern, of foreign languages and foreign jurisprudence—was still to be self-acquired in such leisure as might be afforded from a lifetime devoted to constant professional work.

That he had extraordinary natural gifts must be conceded, among them immense inherent vigor and elasticity of mind, body, and will. In the prime of life we hear that he devoted two hours a day to Latin, two hours to Greek, two hours in the afternoon to French, and in the evening read "standard authors." As these hours were all outside of his ordinary work, not only must he have required little sleep, but nearly every moment of his day must have been occupied. Work was the atmosphere of his life, and his success, as well as the great and happy age to which he lived, showed that his was one of the cases in which the man had been born for the part he played. During his judicial career his greatness never seems to have been questioned by his contemporaries. They saw that he was a great judge; we see that he was a legal giant—one of those masters whose stature is above that of ordinary men. But when we read his Life, and perceive his simplicity and modesty, and his unfailing refusal to trust to anything but industry and minute accuracy and research, we feel that, wonderful as his powers were, he earned his fame by labor as unusual, and hence the record of his achievements inspires in us, as it did in his contemporaries, less envy than a sort of affectionate veneration.

Kent's Life has never before been written. His son, Judge William Kent, was to have brought it out, but died, leaving some materials which his great-grandson has now put together in an agreeable sketch. The only other account of Kent with which we are familiar is that contained in the careful address delivered by Judge Duer on the occasion of his death—an address which contains an important review of his work as judge and commentator by a most competent critic.

The story of Kent's life is soon told (it is in part autobiographical or pieced out by letters), and the substance of it is simple enough. We must protest, however, against the term "student" applied to him with emphasis in the author's preface, for it is a term not in itself characteristic. During his whole life he was mainly occupied, not in mere study, historical or analytical, but in the decision of actual controversies between man and man, or in advising clients as to the practical conduct of affairs. It was to qualify himself to do this that he became a student, but his studies were all directed to the most practical ends, the weighing of proof and argument, the administration of relief, the enforcement of contracts, the execution of wills, the management of property, the punishment of guilt and vindication of innocence, the application and enforcement of the network of rules and customs which give character to civil society and hold it together. It was by these occupations that Kent, like all his great predecessors, became an authority in the law, and, therefore, to call him a "painstaking, industrious, and conscientious student" is to use epithets which bring into relief the means, but obscure the end. No great mastery of the law was ever attained through books only, and the most striking proof that is to be found of the fact is furnished by the circumstance disclosed in this volume, that Kent himself, when he attempted, as a young man without experience, to do precisely what later in life was to make him most famous—to lecture on law—after several attempts abandoned the task. It was as a professor at Columbia that he produced his 'Commentaries,' it was as a professor at Columbia that he made the only failure of his life. The reason of the failure is obvious. He was at that time attempting to do what all experience shows cannot be done—teach what he had not learnt.

Kent was essentially a man of affairs—a public man, who, had he not early gone on to the bench, would probably have had a political career. He was sent three times to the Legislature and once to a constitutional convention; as a very young man he took a deep interest in the proceedings of the convention which drew up the Constitution of the United States. Although not fond of advocacy—his talents lying in another direction—he had a lucrative practice, and might easily have been all his life a leader of the bar. His interest in public matters was profound, and, as any one can see from his judgments, it was because he was interested in the great questions involved in the life of man in society that he cared for law. It is important to remember, in following his career, that Hamilton was the publicist of the same world of which Kent was the judge. As a very young man, Kent fell under the influence of Hamilton, who became his idol. It was owing to a conversation in which Hamilton and Kent both took part, that the former met his death. The author gives a characteristic anecdote of a meeting between Kent and Burr long afterwards, when the latter had returned to the United States. Forgetting everything in his rage at seeing the man who had killed Hamilton, he rushes across the street, shakes his cane in Burr's face, and exclaims, in a voice choking with passion: "You're a scoundrel, sir!—a scoundrel!" Burr, well knowing himself to be a scoundrel, and with the wonderful coolness which he always had at command, raises his hat, bows, and replies: "The opinions of the learned Chancellor are always entitled to the highest consideration."

When a man has occupied a position such as Kent's for two generations, the public begin to forget the precise nature of the work by which he attained his eminence, his reputation becomes a commonplace, and we even wonder whether there may not be something factitious about it. Why is it that every one who goes over ground that Kent has covered confesses his superiority to all the rest? "I do most cordially assent to the language of praise in which a modern writer speaks of him as the greatest jurist whom this age has produced, whose writings may safely be said to be never wrong." This is the deliberate statement, not of an American eulogist, but of Abdy, himself an authority in the field in which he defers to Kent in this way. The present volume contains a pretty good account of what gave Kent his standing, but the reader cannot get an adequate idea of the whole matter without going to Judge Duer's address.

To put it in a few words, what we owe to Kent may best be compared with what we owe to Marshall. Just as American constitutional law to-day is mostly derived from principles first laid down by Marshall, so it is no exaggeration to say that it is to Kent that we may trace the main features of the system of private law and equity under which the American lawyer to-day advises his clients. When Kent went on to the bench of the Supreme Court, a most curious state of affairs existed, which it is difficult now to recall, even in imagination. At the beginning of this century there was hardly more law in this country than there was literature. There were no reports, the judges were often men unversed in legal or any other learning, and there were no written opinions, and, therefore, no record of the grounds of decision, and no rules. The Revolution had swept away the English system, not merely of law, but of government and society, and the principles on which a new society in its infancy was to exist were to be laid down. The account given of jurisprudence is that it was "a blank." Of this condition of things, delay, vacillations, contradictions, confusion, and uncertainty were the inevitable consequences, while the condition of the

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bench had a most demoralizing effect on the bar. To establish any system in such chaos, a revolution was necessary, and, as Judge Duer says, "It was effected mainly by the efforts and by the example of the man who, at the early age of thirty-five, was now raised to the bench."

The control obtained by Kent over his court was due to sheer ability. We are told that his brethren were greatly astonished by the fact that in every case reserved for decision he "produced a written opinion," but as they had nothing to oppose to his reasoning or his authorities, they "were in no condition" to controvert him. There was nothing for them to do but to abandon the court to Kent, or to imitate his example. They chose the latter course, and in a few years the Supreme Court of New York was established as a court of the first rank and importance. When in 1814 Kent was made Chancellor, he found the Court of Chancery in a state still worse. It was viewed by the mass of the people as an arbitrary and irresponsible court, "masking oppression under the forms of law." No reports had been published, and during Kent's time no judgment or even dictum of his predecessors was cited, or even referred to before him. He created the court, and thus curiously recalled, after the lapse of centuries, the career of Sir Heneage Finch (Lord Nottingham), the founder of equity in England. Kent drew from English as Nottingham had drawn from Roman precedents. The genius of both lay in the sagacity with which they selected principles from older sources to found a system widely different from those to which it owed its origin.

All great judges deliver some judgments which reveal their powers and grasp of the law at their best. The professional reader will find several of these examined and explained in Judge Duer's address. Perhaps the best known to the world at large is that of People vs. Croswell (3 Johns. Cas. 363), in which the right of the jury in libel suits to pass on the whole question of guilt is upheld. This doctrine, which Hamilton vindicated, and Kent adopted, became, against the weight of Lord Mansfield's authority, one of the modern constitutional safeguards of liberty of speech. But when Judge Duer comes to give an account of Kent's judgments in equity, he pays him the sweeping compliment of declaring that selection is out of the question. The important cases are so numerous and cover so vast a range that any selection must be purely arbitrary. He can give no advice but to study every opinion that Kent ever delivered.

After twenty-six years of judicial service Kent was made Recorder in New York in 1797; he retired from the bench at the age of sixty, and became a teacher of law. In the seven years between 1823 and 1830 the 'Commentaries,' which remain his greatest monument, were produced. He says in his autobiographical remains, speaking of his lectures delivered in 1794-5, that they were "slight and trashy productions"; "I wanted judicial labors to teach me precision." Whatever he had lacked he had certainly now acquired. Many people, not familiar with the book, fancy it an American Blackstone; but this is a great mistake. There is a resemblance in the arrangement and in the affinity which springs from their being both commentaries on the common law; but in substance there are more points of difference than of resemblance. In matters of public and constitutional law they represent opposed systems, and in style there is no resemblance at all. Blackstone is the only strictly entertaining law-book ever written, but he has suffered from this very cause, suspicion attaching to the law when it is "as interesting as a novel." Kent is clear, judicial, and accurate—that is, he has the virtues of style requisite for his task. Blackstone is a key to the law, but Kent is the law itself.

Of the Chancellor's private life and character the book gives pleasant glimpses. As a boy he tells us that several of his fellow-students thought his tastes odd and dull, but he notes the fact that his critics in several cases took to drink and died young. We hear of his love-match, which was quite a romance, and the reader is not at all surprised to find that it turned out a success for life. We see him following his idol, Hamilton, through the long and doubtful debates of the convention on which in great measure hung the future fate of the country; we sympathize with his great hobby, geography and travel, the hobby of a man whose sympathies and interests took in the world, and whose travels extended to Albany or Philadelphia. Little traits reveal the man. His honesty and good sense attract the reader as they did his contemporaries, because they are so impulsive, unquestionable, and at the same time humane. When the time of his court is wasted with a ridiculous motion involving a few shillings, he cuts the matter short by exclaiming, "I won't hear it; I won't hear it. I would rather pay it myself"; and a curious instance of his readiness and resource is given in an anecdote of his overcoming an objection to the qualifications of a member of another bar, by appointing the objector to examine him for admission on the spot. Simplicity of feeling and expression, sometimes approaching naïveté; shrewdness and capacity for dealing with men; honesty, industry, strong domestic affections, combined with great kindliness, suavity, humanity, and modesty, shine out in the reminiscences and letters preserved. Kent's career was the opposite of adventurous—in fact, had few incidents of any sort; his biography cannot be made picturesque. Dramatic in a certain sense it is, for he was the architect of a great and enduring position, which he made himself by sheer native force of mind and character.

The Voyages of the Cabots: Latest Phases of the Controversy. By S. E. Dawson. Ottawa: James Hope & Co. 1897.

Recent Cabot literature may be divided into three main sections, each corresponding to a subject of spirited debate. These are, firstly, the circumstances under which John Cabot came to England and made his voyage of 1497; secondly, the exact geographical site of the landfall; and, thirdly, the character of Sebastian Cabot. In Europe, as was natural, discussion has turned more on the first and third of the above topics, while in America the second has received the lion's share of attention. Every one who is following the controversy in its local phase is familiar with what Dr. S. E. Dawson has already written to prove that Cape Breton is the region where the British flag was first floated in this hemisphere. His results (and especially his theory of magnetic variation) were widely noticed at the time of their appearance; and he is, we should think, the leading living advocate of a view once supported by Mr. Charles Deane and Dr. Winsor. Mr. Harrisse in like manner stands for the pretensions of Labrador, and Judge Prowse for those of Newfoundland.

Dr. Dawson now publishes in pamphlet form a long paper which he submitted to the Royal Society of Canada at its last meeting, and which is reprinted from its Transactions. The term "latest phases" apparently relates to the landfall question alone, for the Fust Chronicle is left in Mr. Weare's hands to be settled with Mr. Harrisse. The present position of things (we had almost said the present *casus belli*) is this: Newfoundland, "the oldest colony," has, in the persons of its antiquaries, been very much exercised over the landfall of 1497. Even could it be mathematically proved that Cabot touched at Cape Breton or Cape Chidley instead of at Cape Bonavista or Cape St. John, the historical place of the island on Britain's roll of colonies would be unchanged. Yet in a glow either of misplaced patriotism or of outraged scholarship, Judge Prowse, in criticising Dr. Dawson's defence of the Cape Breton theory, uses such words as "senseless," "absurd," and "preposterous." The issue between them and the manner in which it is being waged can be gathered from the following passage in Dr. Dawson's reply:

> "In a criticism of Archbishop O'Brien's address Judge Prowse states that 'the claim of Cape Breton is utterly untenable, opposed alike to common sense and reason and all the contemporary records.' It is therefore only right to repeat that it was the first place ever mentioned as the landfall, and that a large number of very eminent men have held and advocated that very theory. It has, moreover, been the prevailing theory during the past forty years. . . . In the last analysis, Judge Prowse stands alone . . . for Cape Bonavista. In his own words: 'Alone like *Athanasius contra mundum*, fighting for the creed of Christendom against the world.' The parallel is not exact, for Athanasius was fighting for the older faith."

In other words, it is a lively little encounter.

Besides having Judge Prowse for chief adversary, Dr. Dawson confutes Bishop Howley's claim that the landfall was on Cape St. John, and continues to differ from Mr. Harrisse with regard to Labrador. It is only in Judge Prowse's case that we are reminded of *tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ;* the rest of the discussion keeps within the bounds of academic argument. When he comes to tabulate his conclusions, Dr. Dawson insists strongly on a few main points, among which are these: Cabot meant to steer west from Bristol, and "all the conditions existing upon the North Atlantic tend to make a westerly course swerve to the south." In the next place, Cavo de Ynglaterra on Juan de la Cosa's map of 1500 is "admitted by very high authority" to be Cape Race, and thus the *Cavo descubierto* of the same map would correspond to Cape Breton. Moreover, Dr. Puebla maintained that the territory discovered by Cabot belonged to Spain, and the line of demarcation runs just to the east of Cape Breton, cutting off Labrador and Newfoundland. Add to this the explorer's own statement that "it is a region where brazil wood and silk might be expected to grow," and we get Cape Breton's brief down to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Corroborative evidence is supplied by Pedro Reinel's map of 1505,

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Clement Adams's of 1549 (prepared with the aid of Sebastian Cabot), and Lok's of 1582. Resting his case on such grounds, Dr. Dawson believes that Cape Breton can lay claim to the honor of Cabot's landfall with no less justice than Watling's Island can lay claim to that of Columbus. He has certainly entered the best plea yet made on its behalf, and many professed historians will profit by following his use of evidence.

We should call attention to the large number of maps which are reproduced in support of Dr. Dawson's contentions. Much valuable material is also to be found in the appendices, *e. g.*, Appendix E, where the position of the Tanais (referred to in Soncino's letter) is discussed, and Appendix F, where it is shown that Prince Edward Island was not Cabot's St. John.

Michel de Montaigne: A Biographical Study. By M. E. Lowndes. Cambridge (Eng.): University Press; New York: Macmillan. 1898. 8vo, pp. 286.

It is delightful to the student of Montaigne to perceive that each new volume that now appears about him (and how rapidly they appear!) is becoming, for the most part, more and more serious in tone, more and more valuable in character; and that, as it takes its place in the library of Montaigne literature, it will push aside and out of sight the careless chronicles, the fantastic fables, and the pages of prejudice that have for so many generations passed as biographical information regarding the great essayist.

There is an agreeable interest of another kind in learning that this last new volume is from the hand of a woman. The first person to proclaim publicly and with enthusiasm the merits of Montaigne was his "fille d'alliance," Mlle. de Gournay, and from his day to ours an unbroken line of eminent women have, generation after generation, evinced such high regard, such warm admiration; for him that it constitutes the strongest of testimonies to the essential rectitude of his character and to the admirableness of his personal philosophy. Miss Lowndes carries on the tradition of feminine devotion—with a quiet moderation that is itself the best proof of how strongly she has felt Montaigne's influence. There is a complete avoidance of eulogy and of the common biographical idealizing in her pages.

The central subject-matter of the book seems, at times, not so much the character of Montaigne as the general tone of thought in France in his day, and the public conditions of the country. Montaigne's life is here imbedded in the life of his times in a manner which is the result of wide and thoughtful studies. This admirable method of presentation is open to the criticism—favorable perhaps rather than adverse—that it produces a book which will much more interest those who are already interested in Montaigne and in the history of the Renaissance and the Reformation, than those who are not familiar with the sixteenth century. Not that much information in the reader is assumed, and the facts referred to in the text are carefully detailed in the notes, but the peculiarity of the volume is that it has more the character of history than of biography. Small as it is, its outlines have great "largeness" of treatment, and its light is the open-air light of impartiality.

The most original portion of the study is in the last ten pages, in the statement of the connection between the thought of Montaigne and the thought of Descartes: the conversion of the philosophic doubt of the essayist into the methodic doubt of the scientific thinker. This has been frequently suggested but never before clearly stated. The author brings together Montaigne, Descartes, and Pascal—that trio of illustrious Frenchmen—and points out concisely but distinctly their respective types of genius, and the redoubled interest Montaigne acquires when thought of in conjunction with Pascal and Descartes.

No previous work on Montaigne in English is comparable in scholarship with this. And no French work is of a nature so satisfactory and complete, or presents so interesting a whole. Miss Lowndes has built necessarily and avowedly on (or rather with) the admirable and remarkable material collected by the generous industry of French workers; but no one before her in any country has created from it so excellent a structure. The thoroughness of her information and the largeness of her intelligence, connected with her fine sense of literary proportion, give her work solidity. If to this volume we add the chapter on Montaigne in Mr. Pater's 'Gaston de Latour,' with these two works our generation must be regarded as having established Montaigne's position, so peculiar and so high a one, more securely and unquestionably than it has ever been before. Henceforth there can only be individual differences of personal judgment about him; his place in history and in literature is now clearly and authoritatively assigned, and many of the former judgments of him, even such as those signed by the honored names of Sainte-Beuve and Emerson, must pass into the limbo of mistakes.

Miss Lowndes defines well the type of human mind of which Montaigne is representative as that which is naturally spectator, not actor, in life; which is essentially passive, unassertive, non-insistent in character, unconcerned in either remoulding or persuading the world. But she only here and there hints at the personal element in Montaigne's thought, and she does not undertake to show with any fulness what he added to that which he received from the world's thought. Neither does she declare, as she might, in considering the character of the Essayist, that the writing of the Essays was in fact a deed, and one of high import to the world, and that their value is not best seen from a biographical or historical or philosophical or philological point of view, but from one that reveals a mental personality as distinct as that of Socrates, that makes known the individual force which underlies and overspreads the wide outlook, the moderation, the imagination, the gayety, the sensibility of this "spectator." Perhaps this force may be found to reside in the geniality and warmth of mind which gives unfailing charm to the pages "full," as Miss Lowndes says, "of wholesome common sense and human wisdom."

It is to be hoped that this volume may have a second edition. In that case the authoress might accept a suggestion that she should indicate for each of her citations the date of its publication—often a point of considerable interest as showing at what period of his life and of public affairs Montaigne held the opinions expressed. And, also, that she should conform the spelling of these passages to that used by Montaigne, and not to the hybrid text of Louandre. In one of her chapters (the eleventh) she shows such use of the late careful "reprint" edition of Motheau & Jouaust as it would be well to make throughout — adding references, if she pleases, to the more common edition of Louandre.

A more personal request may be made to her—a wish that she would not continue to disguise her sex behind initials. Women should desire to-day to show openly what they find themselves able to do, and should put forth their literary work as simply as they lead their social lives. They should do this for the encouragement and support of women less favored than themselves in ability, and, also, it may be added, for the convenience of reviewers and library-cataloguers. It is long past the days when they need fear any prejudice in the opinions about their work.

A Text-Book of Botany. By Drs. Strasburger, Noll, Schenck, and Schimper, of the University of Bonn. Translated from the German by Dr. H. C. Porter, of the University of Pennsylvania. Macmillan. 1898.

It is properly held that there are few words in our language more deterrent to the general public than "text-book." The term brings up visions of dogmatic utterance and of statements so condensed and compressed that they are juiceless and indigestible. Moreover, it is widely known that many text-books are characterized by a cocksureness which may be valuable, but which is certainly exasperating, at least to many minds. Therefore the text-book is the very last place to which one goes for enjoyment of any kind. To give a volume this designation is to doom it beforehand to exclusion from the hands of the general reader.

Perhaps the few words which follow may do something to avert from the charming treatise mentioned at the head of this article a fate so undeserved. In the first place, the whole appearance of the work is attractive; in the second place, this attractiveness of appearance is associated throughout with a most skilful presentation of fundamental facts and essential principles. The translation is clear and strong, and remarkably free from slips of any importance. Two features are impressed on every chapter of the book: (1) definiteness and lucidity of statement, and (2) caution in holding the statements within defensible limits. These features may be illustrated by many examples—for instance, one taken from the account of mutual relations between certain fungi and the higher plants:

"A marvellous relation between roots and Bacteria exists in the case of the Leguminosæ. It has long been known that peculiar outgrowths, the so-called 'root-tubercles,' are found on the roots of many Leguminosæ (bean, pea, lupine, clover, etc.). Within the last few years the astonishing discovery has been made that these tubercles are caused by certain Bacteria. . . . The Bacteria *penetrate through the root*-hairs into the cortex of the root, and there give rise to the tubercular growths. These tubercles become filled with a bacterial mass consisting chiefly of swollen and abnormally developed (hypertrophied) Bacterioids, but in part also of Bacteria which have remained in their normal condition. The former seem to be eventually consumed by the host-plant, while the latter remain with the dead roots in the soil, to provide for further re-

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production. . . . We have here another example of symbiosis, in which the Leguminosæ furnish carbohydrates to the Bacteria, which in turn possess the power of taking up free nitrogen and passing it on to the host in an available form. This, at least, is certain: the Leguminosæ with such tubercles contain more nitrogen than could have been procured from the nitrates and other substances in the soil in which they grow."

It is difficult to see how these newly acquired facts could have been stated more definitely, cautiously, or more interestingly. We venture to cite another example of symbiosis, but of another sort:

"The so-called 'ant-plants' offer to certain small extremely warlike ants a dwelling in convenient cavities of the stems, in hollow thorns, in swollen and inflated internodes, or in the labyrinthine passages of their large stem-tubers. At the same time the ants are provided with food in the case of the cecropias and acacias in the form of albuminous fatty bodies (food-bodies), and by the acacias also with nectar. The ants, in exchange, guard the plants most effectively against the inroads of animal foes as well as against other leaf-cutting species of ants, which in the American tropics kill trees by immediately and completely divesting them of their entire foliage. Upon the accumulated fragments of leaves (fungus gardens), according to Möller, the ants make pure cultures of the fungus mycelium, whose peculiar nutritive outgrowths serve them exclusively for nourishment."

The first part of the work is devoted to the forms of the external organs and their tissue elements, as well as to the adaptations to their surroundings. The second part is assigned to the functions of these parts and their coördinated actions. Next follows part third with an account of the Flowerless Plants, and, lastly, comes part fourth, with the families of Flowering Plants. Considering the fact that the work is a composite, coming from four hands, it is remarkable for its freedom from undue repetitions and from overlapping. The boundaries are well defined and have no vague penumbra. Therefore we commend the treatise to all who would place themselves in possession of the latest intelligence from the vegetable world.

Répertoire de la Statuaire grecque et romaine. Par Salomon Reinach. Tome II. Sept mille statues antiques, réunies pour la première fois. Paris: E. Leroux. 1898. 2 vols., 12mo.

In April of last year we noticed the appearance of the first part of Salomon Reinach's 'Répertoire de la Statuaire grecque et romaine,' which was a reprint, upon a reduced scale, of all that is of permanent value in Clarac's 'Musée,' with an index and notes by the editor. The second and more important part of the 'Répertoire' is now before us, and it testifies, more than anything he has yet published, to M. Reinach's ability and energy as a collector and compiler of material. From public museums and private collections of ancient sculpture, he has here brought together illustrations of nearly 7,000 statues and statuettes—he states the exact number as 6,693—none of which are included in Clarac. These are reproduced in outline, classified according to their subjects, with mention of the source from which each illustration was taken, and are followed by a complete analytical index, which makes it possible to consult the book without difficulty or vexation. As may be inferred from the title, busts and reliefs are excluded; and for some reason, which M. Reinach does not explain, terracotta reproductions of statuary types are also omitted, the selection being limited to works in bronze, marble and other stones. To give a conception of the completeness of the book within the range chosen by the editor, we may say that of Apollo, for example, there are 329 representations, including those of the "Narcissus" type, and the "type viril archaïque," and of Athena 227. With the publication of such a vast amount of material, M. Reinach has certainly done much to smooth the way for the editor of a complete *Corpus Statuarum*, should any one be found with sufficient courage to undertake such a task.

Still, we cannot help confessing that the very thoroughness with which he has accomplished his work makes us regret that the result is not more commensurate in appearance with the industry he has expended upon it. As we have said, the illustrations are outline sketches, generally roughly, and sometimes badly, drawn from photographs or other publications, reduced to a common height of about two inches, there being an average of eight to a duodecimo page. We appreciate fully M. Reinach's desire to keep the cost of the book down to the lowest limit, and even as it is we marvel at the possibility of publishing these two volumes at five francs each; but we question seriously whether the sacrifice thus involved in the quality of the illustrations has not been unnecessary as well as injurious. In the reprints which he has hitherto published the element of cost, the desirability of issuing them as cheaply as possible in comparison with their sumptuous originals, has been an obviously important factor; but in the present case an original compilation, containing no inconsiderable proportion of unpublished or inaccessible material, surely called for no such excessive economy. Had the book been twice its size, with four figures on a page instead of eight, and had these figures been reproduced in half-tone directly from the photographs or other illustrations which he used, the result would have been immeasurably more valuable to the public to which the book is addressed; and even had the price been in consequence five times what it is, it would still have been modest when compared with the richness of the material or the cost of other and much less complete collections of a like nature. We dwell upon this point because of our keen regret at what seems to us a lost or wasted opportunity. M. Reinach has done his work so exhaustively that nobody is likely to go over the same ground again, for the present at least, and it is most unfortunate that we are not enabled to enjoy the full benefits of his industry.

As it is, the cuts give the motive of each figure, they show whether it is draped, and if so, how the drapery is arranged, and they also show what attributes or accessories are attached to it, though not always as clearly as might be desired. One is able to see from them how far two given statues correspond in attitude, and sometimes in preservation, though the restored parts are not indicated as they are in Clarac. But of the shape and character of the features, and of such details as the arrangement of the hair, often of prime importance in the comparison or identification of types, they are too small and too loosely drawn to give more than the barest conception; and we cannot pass over the fact that the drawings are sometimes so carelessly made as to give an entirely false impression of the proportions of the originals.

In spite of these shortcomings, however, M. Reinach's 'Répertoire' is a book of unique value and one which every serious student of Greek sculpture will find a necessary part of his equipment. If we lament what it does not offer, this is with no intention of disparaging what it does. No other collection of Greek and Roman sculptural types approaches it in completeness. Merely as an index of Greek statues, a means of learning quickly what and where are the known examples of a particular type, its usefulness is difficult to overestimate; and if the student does not find all he needs in its illustrations, the notes at the bottom of each page will, in the majority of cases, tell him where to look for it. We remark, by the way, M. Reinach's announcement in his preface that he does not intend to end his labors in this field with the present volumes. He holds out a half-promise, which we hope to see fulfilled, of another volume in which he will give more information regarding such matters as the size and restorations of the statues here published than there has been time or space for in the preparation of Part II. The Supplement, also, which fills nearly thirty pages of the second volume, will be continued in the *Revue Archéologique* as the material for it accumulates; and to make this as complete as possible he asks the assistance of all who are willing to send him photographs or drawings of figures which are not included in the volumes already issued.

Familiar Life in Field and Forest. The Animals, Birds, Frogs, and Salamanders. By F. Schuyler Mathews. D. Appleton & Co. 1898. 8vo, xvi, 284 pp. Illustrated.

There are few things more gratifying to the lover of nature than those momentary glimpses of wild animals which he sometimes obtains while passing through the field or forest. To seek them is like taking a chance in a lottery: there are numerous blanks and few prizes. But because the wild folk are not in constant evidence like the wild flower, is no proof that they are uncommon. It may be largely a matter of good fortune if one catches a glimpse of some wild creature on the highway, but in the forest it depends chiefly upon the observer and his conduct. Wild animals never become familiar to one who is heedless and impatient. The rustle of a leaf or the snap of a twig will send the timid burrower to the depths of his hole, and it requires a more than ordinary patience to await his reappearance. It should be borne in mind, also, that wild animals vary in their range from year to year and season to season. What seemed to be absent or extinct twenty years ago may not be so to-day. The borders of abandoned farms are constantly invaded by animals which were not supposed to live within many miles. Occasionally an otter, a lynx, a deer, or a bear is unexpectedly encountered, and at once the whole country turns out to hunt it down, though there is no good reason why our woodland neighbor should be slain, unless by committing depredations it becomes a public enemy.

There is something satisfactory in the consciousness of friendly intentions when in the presence of some startled creature whose restless eyes betray the fear that we are a deadly foe, and an exultant pleasure when one sees the little wild thing approach, timidly accept a nut or crust, and actually eat

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in within reaching distance. The wild life of the woods is not unapproachable. It may be difficult to cultivate its friendship, but in time it will respond. When we have persuaded a wild bird or squirrel to eat from our hands, the memory of it abides with us for ever.

Mr. Mathews's experiences with wild animals have been sufficient to develop a respect for their natural rights and a desire to speak a good word for them on suitable occasions. His little book is intended to assist the observer to become acquainted with his woodland neighbors, to recognize the different species, and to learn something of their ways. For this it is well adapted, and we think would prove a welcome guide to many an intelligent boy or girl on summer outing. Mr. Lyman Underwood has contributed some excellent photographs from nature, to which are added many pen-and-ink sketches by the author. To Messrs. Bangs, Henshaw, and Prof. Garman the author is indebted for assistance in bringing the scientific matter up to the latest date. Finally the publishers have done their part in making the volume attractive, and for this they will, doubtless, not go unrewarded.

Java, the Garden of the East. By E. R. Scidmore. The Century Company.

The island of Java at this moment is of unusual interest to us, for it suggests many points of similarity and contrast with two lands to which our attention is now particularly directed, Cuba and the Philippines. Java and Cuba are nearly of the same size and shape, and, though Cuba is the less tropical, they resemble each other in many of their productions and natural resources. The comparison, however, between Java and the Philippines is even more fruitful, as, besides being close to one another and having much the same general characteristics, they are two of the oldest colonies now held by any European Power, both governed for centuries by a handful of whites ruling over millions of about the same native populations (as well as a sprinkling of Chinese) for the benefit of the mother country. The difference between their conditions to-day is due almost entirely to the character of the nations that have held them, to the difference between the shrewd, practical, unsentimental Dutchman and the indolent, bigoted Spaniard. The result is that, whereas Java is not 20 per cent. larger than Luzon alone, it has more than three times the population of the Philippine Islands (mostly through natural increase in this century) and about ten times the trade. The Dutch empire is a splendid triumph of the great qualities of a little nation; the Spanish, formerly so vast, is a remnant long crumbling from its own vices until now its end seems at hand. And yet Dutch rule, if more enlightened and humane, has not, at least until lately, been very much more philanthropic in its intentions than has Spanish. The colonies have existed for the advantage of Holland and her sons, not of foreigners, Uitlanders, who are still regarded with anxious jealousy, nor of the natives. Under the "Culture System," which brought so much money into Dutch coffers, the Javanese were kept half slaves, condemned to steady work for the especial enrichment of others, while no pretence was made of educating or raising them. Their material welfare was, however, looked after, their laws, customs, and prejudices respected, by an able if despotic government. Dutch planters grew rich, Dutch officials drew high salaries, but the inferior race lived peacefully and multiplied, and appears on the whole not to have been discontented. On the other hand, it is very characteristic that, whereas there are said to be six million Christians in the Philippines to-day, the number of native Christians in Java is too insignificant to count. If we feel inclined to blame the calm indifference of the Dutchman to the spiritual welfare of his subjects, it has certainly saved him from many political difficulties.

Of late, it is true, things have not gone so well as of old in the island. Owing to many causes, such as the fall in the price of tropical products, the ruinous Atchinese war, the diversion of trade from Singapore, etc., Java does not pay as well as it once did; in fact, probably will never be quite such a bounteous source of revenue again. The natives, too, who cannot be treated as children for ever, since the "Culture System" gave way to more modern conditions are not so submissive as they once were; hence, as the population, now so small, of the other Dutch islands increases, the mother country may some day find her empire too great for her governing. Germany stands ready enough to come to her assistance, but to whom would the colonies then belong? This, however, is a chance of the uncertain future; the present is still brilliant enough for Holland.

Miss Scidmore's work is primarily a book of travel and is well written. Not only is the style good and the observation keen, but there is plenty of useful information with judicious criticism. English books on Java are not common, and we heartily recommend hers to the public.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Avancini, Avancinio. All' Ombra del Faggio. Milan: Ulrico Hoepli.
Baldwin, Prof. J. M. The Story of the Mind. Appletons.
Bates, F. O. The Five Post-Kleisthenean Tribes. [Cornell Studies in Classical Philology.] Macmillan.
Collins, Prof. G. S. Selections from the Works of Jean Paul Friedrich Richter. American Book Co. 60c.
Cummings, St. James. Staves of the Triple Alliance. Charleston, S. C.: The Author.
Dictionary of "Greater" New York and its Vicinity. 1898. Appletons. 30c.
D'Ovidio, Francesco. Prose e Tragedie Scelte di Silvio Pellico. Milan: Ulrico Hoepli.
Hanscom, Alice E. Perennia. Cleveland: Helman-Taylor Co. $1.
Harrison, Prof. J. A. Spain in History. Werner Co.
Henty, G. A. The Queen's Cup: A Novel. Appletons. $1.
Hutchinson, Woods. The Gospel According to Darwin. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co. $1.50.
Life is Life, and Other Tales and Episodes. By Zack. Scribners. $1.50.
Matthews, Victoria E. Black-Belt Diamonds. Gems from the Speeches, etc., of Booker T. Washington. New York: Fortune & Scott. $1.
Morgan, C. L. Psychology for Teachers. Scribners. $1.
Paget, R. L. Poems of American Patriotism, 1776-1898. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. $1.
Redway, J. W., and Hinman, R. Natural Advanced Geography. American Book Co.
Richthofen, F. von. Schantung und seine Eingangspforte Kiautschou. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
Rosenberg, Adolph. Lenbach. [Künstler-Monographien.] Lemcke & Buechner.
Saunders, Marshall. Rose à Charlitte. Boston: L. C. Page & Co.
Schwill, Ferdinand. History of Modern Europe. Scribners. $1.50.
Smyth, Prof. A. H. Burke's Letter to a Noble Lord. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Stevens, J. E. Yesterdays in the Philippines. Scribners. $1.50.
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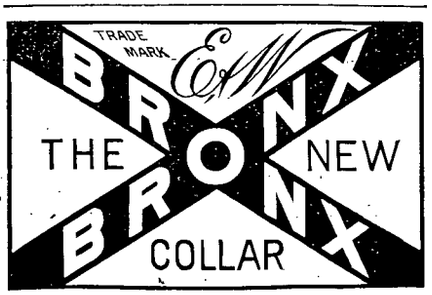

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